

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN OVER THE INTERNET: THE FACE OF A CHILD PREDATOR AND OTHER ISSUES

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BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND
INVESTIGATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND
COMMERCE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN OVER THE INTERNET: THE FACE OF A CHILD PREDATOR AND OTHER ISSUES

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2006

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in Room 2123 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ed Whitfield (Chairman) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Whitfield, Walden, Ferguson, Burgess, Blackburn, Barton (ex officio), and Stupak.

Staff present: Mark Paoletta, Chief Counsel for Oversight and Investigations; Kelli Andrews, Counsel; Karen Christian, Counsel; Ryan Ambrose, Legislative Clerk; David Nelson, Minority Investigator/Economist; Jonathan Brater, Minority Staff Assistant; and Elizabeth Ertel, Minority Senior Staff Assistant.

MR. WHITFIELD. I would like to call this hearing to order this morning. And today the subcommittee is holding its seventh hearing on the topic of the Sexual Exploitation of Children over the Internet. During the past 6 months, the subcommittee has learned a lot about what industry and law enforcement is doing and can do to combat the proliferation of sexually exploited images of children over the Internet. And I must say all of us have been appalled at the proliferation of this problem over the Internet. Today, we are going to turn to a different topic, and that is hopefully learning more about the child predators that seek to harm children.

We are going to hear from a distinguished panel today. First, we have two witnesses that are with us by video conferencing, Dr. Philip Jenkins, from Penn State University, and Dr. Anna Salter, a clinical psychologist based in Madison, Wisconsin. I know that there has been some technical issues relating to Dr. Salter, but we hope that she will be here and we appreciate her sharing with us the interview that she conducted with a convicted child sex offender. We saw this video prior to the hearing, and we are prepared to ask some questions regarding that video.

Dr. Jenkins, we look forward to hearing your observations of the online pedophile message boards that you were able to infiltrate a few years ago and more about your thoughts on this dangerous online community. I also look forward to hearing from Dr. Hernandez about the Bureau of Prisons and the only sex offender treatment program in the country that they have and to discuss the study that you published in 2000 about the offenders you were treating that showed a link between possession of child pornography and contact offenses with children.

I also want to thank Mr. Kurt Eichenwald of the New York Times. I would say that with his work in this area he provided us a wonderful service not only to this committee, but also to the country and his journalism really spurred this subcommittee's action on this issue. I want to thank him also for his work and wish him well as he closes out a 20-year career at the New York Times next week and begins writing for a new publication, so we wish you the very best in your future challenges, Mr. Eichenwald. I would say that your work about online child exploitation has been illuminating and we look forward to hearing more today about your observations of the online pedophile community, as well as concerns you have about child modeling sites. I am also interested in hearing about the new information that you provided the committee which shows in detail how pedophiles share their tips on evading detection from law enforcement. These are savvy criminals that will stop at nothing to insure that they can continue to build up their collections of sick sexually exploited images of children.

I would also be interested to hear from our experts today whether there is a so-called profile of a child predator, and, if not, are there any signs that parents and children should be aware of that can give them a clue as to whether or not an individual may be a child predator. On the second panel we will switch focus a bit and hear from the leading U.S. domain name registry company called GoDaddy, and from a Web hosting company, Blue Gravity Communications, about the steps they can take to remove content involving the sexual exploitation of children off of their network.

As I understand it, GoDaddy, in addition to being a domain registry company, also provides Web hosting services. It is imperative that at every step of this process in setting up websites from the domain name registry to signing up with the Web hosting company and to finally getting connectivity to the site with an ISP that we encourage industry to be as aggressive and innovative as possible, and take appropriate steps to investigate and weed out sites that sexually exploit children. I want to thank all the witnesses for being here today, and at this time I recognize the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Stupak.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Ed Whitfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HON. ED WHITFIELD, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS

GOOD MORNING. TODAY THE SUBCOMMITTEE IS HOLDING ITS SEVENTH HEARING ON THE TOPIC OF THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN OVER THE INTERNET. OVER THE COURSE OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS LEARNED A LOT ABOUT WHAT INDUSTRY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IS DOING AND CAN DO TO COMBAT THE PROLIFERATION OF SEXUALLY EXPLOITATIVE IMAGES OF CHILDREN OVER THE INTERNET.

TODAY, WE TURN TO AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT TOPIC—LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE CHILD PREDATORS THAT SEEK TO HARM CHILDREN. WE ARE GOING TO HEAR FROM A VERY DISTINGUISHED PANEL TODAY. FIRST, WE HAVE TWO WITNESSES THAT ARE WITH US TODAY VIA VIDEOCONFERENCING—DR. PHILIP JENKINS, FROM PENN STATE UNIVERSITY AND DR. ANNA SALTER, A CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST BASED IN MADISON WISCONSIN. DR. SALTER, WE APPRECIATE YOU SHARING WITH US THE INTERVIEW YOU CONDUCTED WITH A CONVICTED CHILD SEX OFFENDER AND WE ARE PREPARED TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT. DR JENKINS, WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR OBSERVATIONS OF THE ON-LINE PEDOPHILE MESSAGE BOARDS YOU WERE ABLE TO INFILTRATE A FEW YEARS AGO AND MORE ABOUT YOUR THOUGHTS ON THIS DANGEROUS ON-LINE COMMUNITY. I ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM DR. HERNANDEZ ABOUT THE BUREAU OF PRISONS ONLY SEX OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM IN THE COUNTRY AND TO DISCUSS THE STUDY HE PUBLISHED IN 2000 ABOUT THE OFFENDERS HE WAS TREATING WHICH SHOWED A LINK BETWEEN POSSESSION OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY AND CONTACT OFFENSES WITH CHILDREN.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO THANK MR. KURT EICHENWALD OF THE NEW YORK TIMES FOR TESTIFYING A SECOND TIME AT OUR HEARING ON THIS TOPIC. YOUR WORK ABOUT ON-LINE CHILD EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN VERY ILLUMINATING AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING MORE ABOUT YOUR OBSERVATIONS OF THE ON-LINE PEDOPHILE COMMUNITY, AS WELL AS, CONCERNS YOU HAVE ABOUT “CHILD MODELING SITES.” I AM ALSO INTERESTED IN HEARING ABOUT THE NEW INFORMATION THAT MR. EICHENWALD PROVIDED THE COMMITTEE, WHICH SHOWS IN DETAIL HOW THESE PEDOPHILES SHARE THEIR TIPS ON EVADING DETECTION BY LAW ENFORCEMENT. THESE ARE SAVVY CRIMINALS THAT WILL STOP AT NOTHING TO ENSURE THAT THEY CAN CONTINUE TO BUILD UP THEIR COLLECTIONS OF SICK SEXUALLY EXPLOITATIVE IMAGES OF CHILDREN. I WILL ALSO BE INTERESTED TO HEAR FROM OUR EXPERTS TODAY WHETHER THERE IS A SO-CALLED ‘PROFILE’ OF A CHILD PREDATOR AND IF NOT, ARE THERE ANY SIGNS THAT PARENTS AND CHILDREN SHOULD BE AWARE OF THAT CAN CLUE THEM IN TO WHETHER AN INDIVIDUAL MAY BE A CHILD PREDATOR.

ON THE SECOND PANEL, WE WILL SWITCH FOCUS A BIT AND HEAR FROM THE LEADING U.S. DOMAIN NAME REGISTRY COMPANY, CALLED, “GO DADDY” AND FROM A WEB HOSTING COMPANY, BLUE GRAVITY COMMUNICATIONS, ABOUT THE STEPS THEY CAN TAKE TO REMOVE CONTENT INVOLVING THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN OFF THEIR NETWORK. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, GO DADDY –IN ADDITION TO BEING A DOMAIN REGISTRY COMPANY, ALSO PROVIDES WEB HOSTING

SERVICES. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT AT EVERY STEP OF THE PROCESS IN SETTING UP WEBSITES—FROM THE DOMAIN NAME REGISTRY TO SIGNING UP WITH A WEB HOSTING COMPANY, AND TO FINALLY GETTING CONNECTIVITY TO THE SITE WITH AN ISP-- WE ENCOURAGE INDUSTRY TO BE AS AGGRESSIVE AS POSSIBLE AND TAKE THE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO INVESTIGATE AND WEED OUT SITES THAT SEXUALLY EXPLOIT CHILDREN. I THANK ALL THE WITNESSES FOR BEING HERE TODAY.

MR. STUPAK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank our first panel of expert witnesses for helping us better understand child predators and the threat they pose to our children. Thank you, Mr. Eichenwald, for testifying for the committee about your ongoing investigation and reporting and good luck in your future endeavors. The subcommittee's investigations and hearings have been comprehensive and in depth. Importantly, these hearings have educated the public on the dangers of Internet child predators and the hearings have forced change in the industry.

We have heard from Web search engines, Internet service providers, telecommunications companies, cable companies, and financial services industry. Each segment of the industry has been held to account and each industry player has stepped forward at these hearings to say we can do better. Today, I look forward to the testimony of GoDaddy and Blue Gravity Communications. The Web hosting and domain name registration companies can and must do better to protect our children and rid their systems of child pornography. Throughout our investigation, I have been impressed with the voluntary action that Ernie Allen and the Center for Missing and Exploited Children have elicited from large Internet companies.

However, voluntary action by a few of the private sector firms involved is insufficient. For example, we heard last week from the largest credit card companies and banks that they are making an effort to end the use of their products by child pornographers, but we also heard that companies like MasterCard work to eliminate child pornography from their systems these criminals just move to alternate payment methods like e-gold and other unregulated digital currencies. In the months ahead, it is critical that this subcommittee continue to hold all segments of industry accountable through oversight and through legislation.

This committee needs to look to best practices, not only in the U.S., but globally as well and enact the legislation that will root out these child predators and block them from harming our children. I was proud to offer an amendment to the telecommunications bill that will for the first time require Internet service providers to take action to block child pornography from their networks. This amendment requires Internet service providers to be proactive, not merely reactive. But there is more

we can do. We know from previous testimony that fewer than 300 of the few thousand Internet service providers are registered with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

Today we will hear from a Web hosting company that periodically receives complaints about child pornography on its servers but had never implemented any system for searching for the source of that content and has only recently begun to report it. While Internet service providers are required by law to report child pornography to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children Web hosting companies are not. This is yet another hole in the system that must be addressed.

The committee should build on my amendment to require all Internet firms that are search engines, Internet service providers, domain registrars, and host websites to actively search for child pornography on their system, notify the national committee, and then remove any and all content that is identified as child porn from their servers. The United Kingdom was able to reduce the identified illegal content hosted on British-based servers from 18 percent to 4/10th of 1 percent of the worldwide total. The United States has over 40 percent of the commercial child porn websites on U.S. servers.

I understand, however, that as we succeed in greatly reducing or eliminating the child pornography commercial sites hosted on U.S. servers the criminals are moving their operations abroad. Our response to child pornography and exploitation on the Internet must be global. Again, we can look to the British model. British Telecom has created the software to block any UK ISP from connecting with identified child porn sites anywhere in the world. Furthermore, British Telecom has made this offer available free of charge to any Internet provider. We are told that all telecom companies in Britain that connect customers to the Web will have the British Telecom software or similar blocking software in place by the end of this year.

Mr. Chairman, we have learned from these hearings the technologies and strategies at work to rid the Internet of child pornography and best protect our children. We have also learned there are efforts in the U.S. have been lacking. It is time to roll up our sleeves, put this committee to work. Mr. Chairman, thank you again for holding this hearing. I yield back the balance of my time.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you very much, Mr. Stupak, and at this time I recognize the Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, Mr. Barton, for his opening statement.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Stupak for this continuing series of hearings in child pornography and what normal, decent citizens can do about it. Today we are going to hear testimony from a distinguished panel of witnesses about the pedophile and child

predator community. This topic represents a bit of a shift for the subcommittee. We spent months investigating the response by law enforcement, educators, prosecutors, Internet service providers, and financial institutions to Internet child pornography. This hearing is the first time we will focus solely on those individuals who actually seek or desire to sexually exploit children.

The witnesses on this panel are experts in what makes pedophiles or child predators tick, why they desire children and what can be done about it, if anything. I would like to welcome Drs. Hernandez, Jenkins, and Salter to our hearing. I thank them for taking the time to share their expertise with the committee. I also want to thank Mr. Kurt Eichenwald of the New York Times. It is a bit of a stretch for me to thank anybody from the New York Times, but I do want to thank you, sir. This is the second time that Mr. Eichenwald has testified before our subcommittee. It was his article about Justin Berry published in December of last year that brought the issue of Internet child pornography to our attention. Mr. Eichenwald has recently published two more articles on the subject. I want to comment you, sir, for what you have done to bring this issue to light. I look forward to your testimony today.

Our second panel of witnesses continue our subcommittee's focus on the role of industry in fighting this scourge. We are going to hear from two companies that are involved in two key steps in establishing a website. One company named GoDaddy.com is the largest domain name registration company in the United States. It also hosts or provides Web hosting services. The second company, Blue Gravity Communications, only provides Web hosting. As I understand it, the first step in setting up a website is to register a domain site. The second step is to contract with the Web hosting company that would allow the content of the website to reside on their servers.

Typically, Web hosting companies are not able to access or change the content that appears on the websites that they host. Obviously, any effort to combat the Internet child pornography problem must address the role of domain registration and Web hosting because without them many child pornography websites would not be available to the child predators whose desires are fueled by the images that they see. Ms. Christine Jones of GoDaddy.com is the first witness on the second panel. She is going to testify about her company's efforts to investigate and take down child pornography websites that have either registered their domain names with GoDaddy or are hosted by them.

I look forward to learning what Ms. Jones believes domain registration and Web hosting companies can do to prevent child pornography from ever reaching the Internet. I am also interested in learning more about the child modeling website phenomenon that

GoDaddy is currently witnessing. The fact that GoDaddy has found these websites are often linked to child pornography sites. The second witness, Mr. Thomas Krwawecz, owns a Web hosting company in New Jersey called Blue Gravity Communications. Mr. Krwawecz is here under subpoena today because our committee's investigation revealed that his company perhaps unwittingly has hosted so-called child modeling websites.

These websites display pictures of young girls posed in a sexual provocative manner and in sexual clothing. I can think of no good reason for a young child to be posing this way other than to appeal to the sexual interests of child predators and pedophiles. I understand that Mr. Krwawecz took these sites down. We would like to thank him for doing that upon receiving our subpoena. I look forward to learning more about his Web hosting company and how he became involved with these so-called child modeling websites.

Again, I want to thank you, Mr. Whitfield, you, Mr. Stupak, and although he is not here, Mr. Dingell, for working together in a bipartisan fashion on this hearing. There is nothing more important in our society than protecting our children. And I want to commend this subcommittee for beginning to fight back and do just that. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Joe Barton follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOE BARTON, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON ENERGY
AND COMMERCE

Thank you, Chairman Whitfield, for convening this hearing.

Today, we will hear testimony from a distinguished panel of witnesses about the pedophile and child predator community. This topic represents a bit of a shift for our Subcommittee. While we have spent months investigating the response by law enforcement, educators, prosecutors, Internet Service Providers, and financial institutions to Internet child pornography, this hearing is the first time we will focus solely on those individuals who actually seek or desire to sexually exploit children. The witnesses on this panel are experts in what makes pedophiles or child predators tick, why they desire children, and what can be done about it, if anything. I welcome Doctors Hernandez, Jenkins, and Salter to our hearing, and I thank them for taking the time to share their expertise and advice with us.

I would also like to recognize Mr. Kurt Eichenwald of the The New York Times. This is the second time Mr. Eichenwald has testified before this Subcommittee. It was Mr. Eichenwald's article about Justin Berry published in December of last year that brought the issue of Internet child pornography to our attention. Mr. Eichenwald has recently published two more articles on the subject. I commend Mr. Eichenwald for all he has done to bring this issue to light, and I look forward to his testimony today.

Our second panel of witnesses continues our Subcommittee's focus on the role of industry in fighting this scourge. We will hear from two companies that are involved in two key steps in establishing a website. One company, GoDaddy.com, is the largest domain name registration company in the United States, and also provides web hosting services. The second company, Blue Gravity Communications, Inc., only provides web

hosting. As I understand it, the first step in setting up a website is to register a domain name. The second step is to contract with a web hosting company that will allow the content of the website to reside on their servers. Typically, web hosting companies are not able to access or change the content that appears on the websites they host. Obviously, any effort to combat the Internet child pornography problem must address the role of domain registration and web hosting, because without them, many commercial child pornography websites would not be available to the child predators whose desires are fueled by the images they see.

Ms. Christine Jones of GoDaddy.com is the first witness on our second panel. Ms. Jones will testify about her company's efforts to investigate and take down child pornography websites that have either registered their domain names with GoDaddy or are hosted by them. I look forward to learning what Ms. Jones believes domain registration and web hosting companies can do to prevent child pornography from ever reaching the Internet. I am also interested in learning more about the child modeling website phenomenon GoDaddy is currently witnessing, and the fact that GoDaddy has found that these websites are often linked to child pornography sites.

The second witness, Mr. Thomas Krwawecz, owns a web-hosting company in New Jersey called Blue Gravity Communications, Inc. Mr. Krwawecz is here under subpoena today because our Committee's investigation revealed that his company, perhaps unwittingly, hosted "child modeling" websites. These websites displayed pictures of young girls posed in a sexual, provocative manner and in sexual clothing. There is no reason for a child to be posed in this way other than to appeal to the sexual interests of child predators and pedophiles. I understand that Mr. Krwawecz took these sites down upon receiving our subpoena. I look forward to learning more about his web-hosting company and how he came to be involved with these so-called "child modeling" websites.

Thank you again, Chairman Whitfield, for convening this important hearing. I yield back the balance of my time.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. At this time, I recognize the gentleman from New Jersey for his opening statement, Mr. Ferguson.

MR. FERGUSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Stupak, for this continuing series of hearings on this topic which has become very important to all of us the more we have learned about it over the last several months. I want to thank our witnesses for coming before the committee to testify today. I particularly want to thank Kurt Eichenwald, who has spent a lot of time bringing this sordid world to light. Kurt, thanks for your work on this important topic and again for coming to Washington to share your expertise with us. I also thank the rest of our witnesses for testifying today as well.

In the past several months, we have all become uncomfortably familiar with the topic at hand and with every hearing we learn a little bit more about it. One of the topics of today's hearing, child modeling websites, is one that would not seem to pose a danger to our children when in fact young girls are often blatantly marketed in a sexual manner on these websites. Child pornographers feel that they can evade law enforcement by running websites featuring children with clothing, no

matter how little. This should not be the case. I also appreciate our other witnesses coming to help us get to the root of who a child predator really is.

As we will hear, the grooming process that people put these young children through is absolutely sickening, and some of us have had an opportunity to view a video of an interview of someone who is incarcerated because of molesting young children and just about the process he would go through and how he would learn and choose his victims and groom these kids and their families in order to victimize them. These people prey on the young and the impressionable. They earn their trust, and then they take advantage of their innocence. We will hear today that possession of child pornography opens the door to sexual offenses against children, and while this is undoubtedly important information to know, the question becomes how do we stop it?

I am glad that this issue has become a priority for Chairman Whitfield and for this subcommittee and Mr. Stupak and the other members of the subcommittee. It should really become a priority for this Congress. It is our job as lawmakers, as educators, but most importantly as parents to protect our children at all cost. Again, I want to thank the witnesses for coming to the committee this morning, and I look forward to hearing from them today, and I yield back.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Ferguson. There are no more opening statements, so we will go on and begin with the first panel. I am going to introduce the first panel again. First of all, we have Mr. Kurt Eichenwald with the New York Times. We have Dr. Andres Hernandez who is the Director of the Bureau of Prisons' Sex Offender Treatment Program, and then we have Mr. Baxter, John Baxter, who is the Chief Psychologist with the Bureau of Prisons.

It is my understanding, Dr. Baxter, that while you will not be giving an opening statement that you may make some comments during the question period or if we have questions for you, we can ask you questions. In addition, we have Dr. Anna Carol Salter, who is with us by video conferencing, who is a psychologist, and does some work with the Wisconsin Bureau of Prisons and is an author on this subject. She is testifying from Madison, Wisconsin. We appreciate your being with us, Dr. Salter. And then we have Dr. Philip Jenkins, who is a Professor in History and Religious Studies and does work in this area as well from Pennsylvania State University up in University Park, Pennsylvania. So we thank both of you for being with us this morning. We look forward to your testimony.

This is an Oversight and Investigations hearing, and it is our custom to take testimony under oath, and I am assuming that none of you five have

any difficulty of testifying under oath, so if you would stand and just raise your right hand, I would like to swear you in at this time.

[Witnesses sworn]

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you. All of you are under oath now. And, Mr. Eichenwald, we will begin with you so you are recognized for 5 minutes for your opening statement.

TESTIMONY OF KURT EICHENWALD, REPORTER, THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY; DR. ANDRES HERNANDEZ, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF PRISONS' SEX OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM, FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE; DR. ANNA CAROL SALTER, PSYCHOLOGIST; AND DR. PHILIP JENKINS, PROFESSOR, HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

MR. EICHENWALD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Stupak, other members of the committee. I apologize if my voice is a little raspy this morning. My name is Kurt Eichenwald, and I am a senior writer with the New York Times. This marks the second time I have been subpoenaed to testify before this subcommittee about my reporting on the dangers to children from adult predators online. As someone who has emerged as an unlikely chronicler of this threat, I recognize that my testimony can assist you in your search for legislative solutions. But, as in my April testimony, I would caution that, while I am able to inform you of the published findings of my investigations, I do not believe it is my place, nor do I believe I am qualified, to offer policy prescriptions.

My reporting on Internet predators began in June 2005, with my discovery of Justin Berry, the young man who testified before the subcommittee in April about his experience of being lured into webcam child pornography at the age of 13. At the time of that hearing, I was in the first days of a new investigative effort observing online conversations among pedophiles, beginning with those conducted on communication sites first identified to me by Justin. In the months that followed, I discovered an array of places on the Internet where pedophiles gathered to swap stories, experiences, and tips. These conversations seemed to reflect a belief among pedophiles either that no one outside their community was watching or that nobody could locate them. Many readily admitted committing crimes or contemplating them.

I remained immersed in these conversations for 4 months. At no time did I participate to insure that my presence did not affect the direction of the discussions. Throughout this period of reporting, I

observed hundreds of conversations, ultimately recording the pedophiles' world and beliefs through their own words. This investigation resulted in a two-part series last month on the front page of the Times. I have submitted those articles to the committee as an exhibit. What I discovered was terrible. The online conversation sites, even those ostensibly set up to provide support to adults wrestling with their sexual attraction to children, proved to be a means for pedophiles to gain knowledge and assistance in making contact with minors in the real world. But they also were part of an infrastructure established by pedophiles to rationalize and often celebrate their feelings and beliefs.

From the conversations, I learned of Internet radio stations and downloadable pod casts put together by pedophiles for other adults attracted to children, online jewelry stores that sold pendants identifying the wearer to those in the know as a pedophile, as well as an active social movement that purports to be pushing for the rights of children to engage in sexual contact with adults. The rationalizations for molesting children are repeated in these discussions, endlessly, to the point that participants exhibit almost a delusional view of the world. They state repeatedly that sexual contact between adults and children is not only harmless, but beneficial, so long as it does not involve forcible rape. I have witnessed conversations where pedophiles justify the molestation of autistic children under the age of 10, family members, and even of infants.

Adults who attempt to protect children from molestation by pedophiles are deemed child haters. Meanwhile, parents and other adults in children's lives are dismissed as impediments to the minors' happiness. Many times conversation participants discuss their own past crimes involving children and their resulting imprisonment. Speaking of their sentences as reflecting nothing more than the heavy hand of an authoritarian society. In one instance, when a pedophile voiced regret for molesting a child, he was assailed as a traitor to the cause who had been brainwashed by society.

Observing these conversations provided many disturbing moments. Pedophiles would come online every day with stories of the children they had just seen. Many of them were teachers and school administrators, describing children under their control. Others were pediatricians, talking about the delight they experienced during their latest physical exam of a child. There were even fathers who discussed their own children in sexual terms, including one who graphically described watching his two young sons as they changed in a locker room. To help the committee better understand these types of comments, I have attached one recent posting by a man who describes himself as a newly-trained kindergarten teacher, who discusses his desires to engage in sex with the little girls in his care. It is my hope that by making this posting

public someone may recognize the events described in detail by this individual, and stop him before it is too late.

The innocent acts of childhood were often interpreted by the pedophiles as sexual come-ons by pre-pubescent children. A second grader holding his crotch at school did not need to go to the bathroom, one of the pedophiles wrote, he was instead signaling his eagerness to engage in sex. Pedophiles were convinced that children who sat with their legs apart were purposely trying to tempt them. And one man described in detail watching a girl on a playground whom he was convinced was trying to lure him into sex. The reason? When she did cartwheels in her skirt, he could see her panties.

The pedophiles also celebrated something called model sites, which I learned were the explosive trend last year in child pornography. By clicking on one of the many Web addresses posted in a discussion where no illegal sites were supposed to be linked, I ultimately found myself confronted by a page of images of pre-pubescent little girls wearing virtually nothing, posed in seductive ways to meet the requests of pedophile subscribers. Given the nature of that site, as the law dictates, I immediately reported what I found to the authorities. That site which boldly, and I believe falsely, proclaimed itself legal was run by a company called Playtoy Enterprises. Playtoy attracted 6,000 members in 6 months, all of whom paid \$30 a month processed by credit card companies and online payment systems.

Since publication of my articles, I have heard that Playtoy closed, but I discovered hundreds of such sites advertised on marketing portals for pedophiles. I am sure that many of them are still around photographing little girls every week and posting their images for the entertainment of pedophiles. Issues related to child pornography were frequent topics of conversation, including repeated advice from pedophiles about how to trade images without attracting the attention of law enforcement. I have submitted a posting from a pedophile providing details of how savvy porn traders use technology to avoid detection. This person is so certain he will not be caught that he even posted his entire hard drive directory of child porn videos, more than 100 gigabytes worth. Included in those, based on the description, were videos of a child porn victim who has already testified before this committee.

This posting makes clear that pedophiles understand how law enforcement is restricted in its investigative tactics and have used that knowledge to their advantage. My 4 months of observing the pedophile conversations were nothing short of horrific, but they served to prove to me the importance, not only of this kind of reporting, but also of this committee's work to help insure the safety of our children. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Kurt Eichenwald follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KURT EICHENWALD, REPORTER, THE NEW YORK TIMES
COMPANY

**BEFORE THE OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE ENERGY AND COMMERCE COMMITTEE**

My name is Kurt Eichenwald and I am a senior writer with the New York Times. This marks the second time I have been subpoenaed to testify before this subcommittee about my reporting on the dangers to children from adult predators online. As someone who has emerged as an unlikely chronicler of this threat, I recognize that my testimony can assist in your search for legislative solutions. But, as in my April testimony, I would caution that, while I am able to inform you of the published findings of my investigations, I do not believe it is my place – nor do I believe I am qualified – to offer policy prescriptions.

My reporting on Internet predators began in June 2005, with my discovery of Justin Berry, the young man who testified before the subcommittee in April about his experience of being lured into webcam child pornography at the age of 13. At the time of that hearing, I was in the first days of a new investigative effort observing online conversations among pedophiles, beginning with those conducted on communication sites first identified to me by Justin. In the months that followed, I discovered an array of places on the Internet where pedophiles gathered to swap stories, experiences and tips. These conversations seemed to reflect a belief among pedophiles either that no one outside their community was watching or that no one could locate them; many readily admitted committing crimes or contemplating them.

I remained immersed in these conversations for four months. At no time did I participate, to insure that my presence did not affect the direction of the discussions. Throughout this period of reporting, I observed hundreds of conversations, ultimately recording the pedophiles' world and beliefs, told through their own words. This

investigation resulted in a two-part series published last month on the front-page of the Times. I have submitted those articles to the committee as an exhibit.

What I discovered was terrible. The online conversation sites – even those ostensibly set up to provide support to adults wrestling with their sexual attraction to children – proved to be a means for pedophiles to gain knowledge and assistance in making contact with minors in the real world. But they also were part of an infrastructure established by pedophiles to rationalize and, often, celebrate their feelings and beliefs.

From the conversations, I learned of Internet radio stations and downloadable podcasts put together by pedophiles for other adults attracted to children; online jewelry stores that sold pendants identifying the wearer to those in the know as a pedophile; as well as an active social movement that purports to be pushing for the “rights” of children to engage in sexual contact with adults.

The rationalizations for molesting children are repeated in these discussions, endlessly, to the point that participants exhibit almost a delusional view of the world. They state repeatedly that sexual contact between adults and children is not only harmless, but beneficial, so long as it does not involve forcible rape. I have witnessed conversations where pedophiles justify the molestation of autistic children under the age of 10, of family members, and even of infants.

Adults who attempt to protect children from molestation by pedophiles are deemed “child haters.” Meanwhile parents and other adults in children’s lives are dismissed as impediments to the minors’ happiness. Many times, conversation participants discuss their own past crimes involving children and their resulting imprisonment, speaking of their sentences as reflecting nothing more than the heavy-hand

of an authoritarian society. In one instance, when a pedophile voiced regret for molesting a child, he was assailed as a traitor to the cause who had been brainwashed by society.

Observing these conversations provided many disturbing moments. Pedophiles would come online every day with stories of the children they had just seen. Many of them were teachers and school administrators, describing children under their control. Others were pediatricians, talking about the delight they experienced during their latest physical exam of a child. There were even fathers who discussed their own children in sexual terms, including one who graphically described watching his two young sons as they changed in a locker room. To help the committee better understand these types of comments, I have attached one recent posting by a man who describes himself as a newly-trained kindergarten teacher, who discusses his desires to engage in sex with the little girls in his care. It is my hope that, by making this posting public, someone may recognize the events described by this individual, and stop him before it is too late.

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What amazed me about these discussions was the sense among the participants that they were fighting a battle for their beliefs that they fully anticipated would extend for years – perhaps decades – into the future. As such, they did not expect to reach the

world they seek – where child pornography was lawful and age of consent laws were a thing of the past – anytime soon. Instead, they knew they had to move gradually, seeking small victories – some of which came to pass.

For example, I saw pedophiles online argue that they should support exemptions to the child pornography laws for researchers and journalists as a first step toward legalization. That, of course, could not be argued publicly – instead, they urged that this effort should be draped in the cloth of independent skepticism, by arguing that reporters and academics should be allowed to challenge government interpretations of what kinds of images merit prosecution. The irrationality of the argument is obvious – no one needs to surf the Internet seeking child pornography to challenge whether a particular individual should be charged for possessing a particular image. All such a proposal would do is open up the floodgates to the lawful trafficking in illicit images among self-proclaimed journalists and researchers. And yet, in recent weeks, I have seen reputable publications hold up this argument as worthy of consideration. Let me assure you; no one in my profession needs the laws changed to do their jobs. I have accomplished my work over the past year while steadfastly following the rules. Also, from my experience, more than enough information emerges from criminal trials to allow anyone to challenge the standards used by the government in deeming a particular image as child pornography.

The pedophiles also celebrated something called model sites, which I learned were the explosive trend last year in child pornography. By clicking on one of the many web addresses posted in a discussion where no illegal sites were supposed to be linked, I ultimately found myself confronted by a page of images of pre-pubescent little girls wearing virtually nothing, posed in seductive ways to meet the requests of pedophile

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Thank you.

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DARK CORNERS

From Their Own Online World, Pedophiles Extend Their Reach

By **KURT EICHENWALD**

At first blush, the two conversations — taking place almost simultaneously in different corners of the Internet — might have seemed unremarkable, even humdrum.

In April, with summer fast approaching, both groups of online friends chatted about jobs at children's camps. Did anyone, one man asked, know of girls' camps willing to hire adult males as counselors? Meanwhile, elsewhere in cyberspace, the second group celebrated the news that one of their own had been offered a job leading a boys' cabin at a sleep-away camp.

But participants in the conversation did not focus on the work. "Hope you see some naked boys in your cabin," a man calling himself PPC responded. "And good luck while restraining yourself from doing anything."

The two groups were made up of self-proclaimed pedophiles — one attracted to under-age girls, the other to boys. Their dialogue runs at all hours in an array of chat rooms, bulletin boards and Web sites set up for adults attracted to children.

But it is no longer just chatter in the ether. What started online almost two decades ago as a means of swapping child pornography has transformed in recent years into a more complex and diversified community that uses the virtual world to advance its interests in the real one.

Today, pedophiles go online to seek tips for getting near children — at camps, through foster care, at community gatherings and at countless other events. They swap stories about day-to-day encounters with minors. And they make use of technology to help take their arguments to others, like sharing online a printable booklet to be distributed to children that extols the benefits of sex with adults.

The community's online infrastructure is surprisingly elaborate. There are Internet radio stations run by and for pedophiles; a putative charity that raised money to send Eastern European children to a camp where they were apparently visited by pedophiles; and an online jewelry company that markets pendants proclaiming the wearer as being sexually attracted to children, allowing anyone in the know to recognize them.

These were the findings of a four-month effort by *The New York Times* to learn about the pedophiles' online world by delving into their Internet communications. In recent months, new concerns have emerged about whether the ubiquitous nature of broadband technology, instant

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message communications and digital imagery is presenting new and poorly understood risks to children. Already, there have been many Congressional hearings on the topic, as well as efforts to write comprehensive legislation to address the issue.

But most of those efforts have focused on examining particular instances of harm to children. There have been few, if any, recent attempts to examine the pedophiles themselves, based on their own words to one another, to gain a better recognition of the nature of potential problems.

Last week, that world attracted new attention after reports that John M. Karr, who was arrested last Wednesday as a suspect in the 1996 murder of JonBenet Ramsey, apparently used Internet discussion sites intensively in efforts to communicate with children, sometimes about sex. In e-mail messages to a journalism professor that investigators believe were written by Mr. Karr, statements about children seemed to echo the online dialogue among pedophiles.

"Sometimes little girls are closer to me than with their parents or any other person in their lives," the e-mail messages say. "I can only say that I can relate very well to children and the way they think and feel."

The recent conversations among pedophiles that were examined by The Times took place in virtual rooms in Internet Relay Chat, a text-based system allowing for real-time communications; on message boards on Usenet, which has postings by topic; and on Web sites catering to pedophiles.

In this online community, pedophiles view themselves as the vanguard of a nascent movement seeking legalization of child pornography and the loosening of age-of-consent laws. They portray themselves as battling for children's rights to engage in sex with adults, a fight they liken to the civil rights movement. And while their effort has brought little success, they celebrated online in May when a small group of men in the Netherlands formed a pedophile political party, and they rejoiced again last month when a Dutch court upheld the party's right to exist.

The conversations themselves are not illegal. And, given the fantasy world that the Internet can be, it is difficult to prove the truth of personal statements, or to demonstrate direct connections between online commentary and real-world actions. Nor can the number of participants in these conversations, taking place around the Internet, be reliably ascertained.

But the existence of this community is significant and troubling, experts said, because it reinforces beliefs that, when acted upon, are criminal. Repeatedly in these conversations, pedophiles said the discussions had helped them accept their attractions and had even allowed them to have sex with a child without guilt.

Indeed, law enforcement officials say that the refrain of justification from online conversations is frequently voiced by adults arrested for molestation, raising concern that such conversations may lower pedophiles' willingness to resist their temptation.

"It is rationalization that allows them to avoid admitting that their desires are harmful and illegal," said Bill Walsh, a former commander of the Crimes Against Children Unit for the Dallas Police

Department, who founded the most prominent annual national conference on the issue. "That can allow them to take that final step and cross over from fantasy into real-world offenses."

Still, in their conversations, some pedophiles often maintain that the discussion sites are little more than support groups. They condemn violent child rapists and lament that they are often equated with such criminals. Many see themselves as spiritually connected to children and say that sexual contact is irrelevant. Yet the pedophiles consistently return to discussions justifying sex with minors and child pornography.

Many of these adults described concepts of children that veered into the fantastical — for example, at times depicting themselves as victims of predatory minors. A little girl in a skirt reveals her underwear by doing a cartwheel; a boy in a bathing suit sits on a bench with his legs spread apart; a child playfully jumps on a man's back — all of these ordinary events were portrayed as sexual come-ons.

"It really is like going through the rabbit hole, with this entire alternative reality," said Philip Jenkins, a professor of religious studies at [Pennsylvania State University](#) who wrote "Beyond Tolerance," a groundbreaking 2001 book about Internet child pornography.

The conversations also demonstrated technological acumen, with frequent discussions about ways to ensure online anonymity and to encrypt images. That underscores a challenge faced by the authorities who hope to combat online child exploitation with technology. For example, in June, Internet service providers announced plans for an alliance that will use new technologies to locate child pornography traders.

Pedophiles were undaunted. Within hours of the announcement, their discussion rooms were filled with advice on how to continue swapping illegal images while avoiding detection — months before the new technologies were to be in full operation.

Portraits of Pedophilia

In a sense, the creation of the pedophiles' online community was a ripple effect from the success of government efforts to crack down on them.

Washington's efforts in the late 1970's to stamp out child pornography by declaring it illegal were enormously effective, closing off traditional outlets for illicit images.

But the Internet soon presented an alternative. In the early 1980's, through postings on bulletin board systems, pedophiles went online to swap illegal images. From there, they could easily converse with others like themselves, and they found theirs to be a community of diverse backgrounds.

In the conversations observed by The Times, the pedophiles often discussed their personal lives. Their individual jobs were described as being a disc jockey at parties ("a high concentration of gorgeous" children, a man claiming to hold the job said); a pediatric nurse ("lots of looking but no touching"); a piano teacher ("I could tell you stories that would make you ...well... I'll be good"); an

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employee at a water theme park ("bathing suits upon bathing suits!!!!"); and a pediatrician specializing in gynecology ("No need to add anything more, I feel").

The most frequent job mentioned, however, was schoolteacher. A number of self-described teachers shared detailed observations about children in their classes, including events they considered sexual, like a second-grade boy holding his crotch during class.

The man relating that story held up that action as an expression of sexuality; he was not dissuaded when another participant in the conversation suggested that the boy might have just needed to go to the bathroom.

Some pedophiles revealed that they gained access to children through their own families. Some discussed how they married to be close to the children from their wives' previous marriages. Pedophiles who said they were fathers described moments involving their own children, such as a man who told of watching his sons change for swimming in a locker room, complete with details about the older boy's genitals and emerging pubic hair. Others insisted they would never feel any interest in their own children, but commented on the benefits presented by parenthood.

"I have a daughter and have never been attracted to her," a man with the screen name of jonboy wrote. But, he added, "I did find her friends very attractive."

Pedophiles chafe at suggestions that such comments reflect risks to minors. They point out, correctly, that family members and friends — not strangers — are the most frequent perpetrators of child sexual abuse. They never note, however, that the minors mentioned in their online discussions are most frequently those they know well, like relatives and children of friends.

Justifications Online

In the pedophiles' world view, not all sexual abuse is abuse. There is widespread condemnation and hatred of adults who engage in forcible rape of children. But otherwise, acts of molestation are often celebrated as demonstrations of love.

"My daughter and I have a healthy close relationship," a person with the screen name Sonali posted. "We have been in a 'consensual sexual relationship' almost two months now."

The daughter, Sonali wrote, is 10. Whatever guilt Sonali felt for the relationship was eased by the postings of other pedophiles. "I am so happy to find this site," Sonali wrote. "I thought having a sexual attraction to my daughter was bad. I now do not feel guilty or conflicted."

In that, Sonali was demonstrating what experts said is the most dangerous element of the pedophile Internet community: its justification of illegal acts. Experts described the pedophiles' online worldview as reflective of "neutralization," a psychological rationalization used by groups that deviate from societal norms.

In essence, the groups deem potentially injurious acts and beliefs harmless. That is accomplished in part by denying that a victim is injured, condemning critics and appealing to higher loyalties — in

this case, an ostensible struggle for the sexual freedom of children.

Pedophiles see themselves as part of a social movement to gain acceptance of their attractions. The effort has a number of tenets: that pedophiles are beneficial to minors, that children are psychologically capable of consenting and that therapists manipulate the young into believing they are harmed by such encounters.

"Every human being, no matter the age, should be allowed to have consenting mutual sexual relations with anyone they wish," a man calling himself Venn wrote. "All age of consent laws must, and forever, be abolished."

Those same types of comments online are now turning up in court. For example, a man known by the screen name Brother Peteticus is among those who have argued online for legalizing sex with children. In real life, he is Phillip J. Distasio of Rocky River, Ohio, who was arrested last year on charges of raping two autistic boys who were his students. In court this month, Mr. Distasio, 34, portrayed himself as following the dictates of his own religion, and made arguments frequently expressed by the online community.

"I've been a pedophile for 20 years," Mr. Distasio said at the pretrial hearing. "The only reason I'm charged with rape is that no one believes a child can consent to sex. The role of my ministry is to get these cases out of the courtrooms."

In the days that followed, some pedophiles supported that position online, agreeing with Mr. Distasio that mentally handicapped, prepubescent boys could consent to sex with their teacher.

That same logic is applied by the pedophiles to child pornography, which many of them said should be legalized. "Where is the problem?" from child pornography, a pedophile who used the screen name Writer said in an online posting. "Once again, the underlying issue is the repressive belief that sex is intrinsically sinful."

In making these arguments, pedophiles often demonize parents and other adults as cruel, unloving people who exert authoritarian control over children and stand in the way of minors' sexual freedom. "Anti-pedophiles are NOT about protecting children," a man who called himself Christopher wrote. "They are usually the ones who are beating (they call it spanking) or emotionally neglecting their children."

But their arguments often seem contradictory. While maintaining that they can be trusted with children, some pedophiles said they would not allow minors in their lives to be with other adults attracted to children. "I guess coming from the inside, I know a bunch of the bad stuff that can happen," one man wrote.

Many pedophile sites conduct surveys to learn about the attitudes of their contributors. While none of these surveys are scientifically valid, they do reflect the thinking of some people who traffic in these sites. And not surprisingly, a large number of the surveys are about sex.

For example, on one site, pedophiles were asked if they would "have full intercourse with a little

girl." Seventy-four members responded. Only 17 replied no. The same number said that they might. The largest group — over 54 percent — said that they would.

Some attached comments to their survey response. One man provided descriptions of the acts he would repeatedly perform on an 8-year-old to prepare her. The words — too graphic to be printed here — raised no criticism on the site.

But in other discussions, pedophiles cautioned that some comments were too dangerous. When one man described in lurid terms his fantasies about molesting an infant girl, the response was quick. "This is best not discussed," a man calling himself garvy wrote, adding that someday, pedophiles would need evidence proving that they cared only about children's best interests.

"Such posts," garvy concluded, "will be very damaging to the Cause."

A Web of Deception

The booklet — recently circulated through a Web site for pedophiles — had been written, it said, "for any boy who is old enough to be able to read it."

Called "Straight Talk for Boys," it is an 18-page discussion of sex, particularly between children and adults, from the pedophiles' viewpoint. Such encounters are depicted as harmless, even beneficial. The document criticizes parents and therapists. And it encourages boys to wear Speedo bathing suits and shower naked in public places.

But it repeatedly returns to one message: boys should never tell about sex with adults. "Older boys and men may be frightened about getting caught having sex play with you, because they can be put in jail," it says. "So you have to think of ways to 'signal' your interest in another person without openly saying what you want," adding that "nobody else can know about what you agree to do."

The booklet comes with instructions, advising pedophiles on how to distribute it. "The best and safest way is to leave quantities of the booklet in places where boys in the 8 to 14 range can find them, and where adults will not discover them too quickly," the instructions read. "Obviously, you don't want to be observed placing the booklets in your chosen locations."

The booklet reflects how pedophiles can use the Internet to advance their interests in the real world. Like many of those efforts, this one involved deception: the booklet does not reveal, for example, that it has been written and distributed by men who are sexually attracted to children, but instead portrays itself as objective fact.

Using deception to gain access to children is a recurring theme. For example, on a site for adults attracted to boys, someone calling himself Vespucci asked in June whether a single man could become a foster father. The respondents cautioned Vespucci to disguise his pedophilia.

"You better have a darned good excuse why you never married, such as your fiancée died in a car wreck," replied a man calling himself simply "d." "I highly recommend you date women for several years and keep at least a couple of those relationships going for at least a couple of months. Around

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the women, make a point of being nice to children.”

The deception would be worthwhile, d wrote. “It will help out in the reference-check dept. when you apply.”

Pointers on ways to get close to children were frequent topics. One man posted an Internet “help wanted” advertisement from a single mother seeking an overnight baby sitter for her 4-year-old daughter; another recommended shopping at weekend estate sales, since plenty of bored minors showed up accompanying inattentive parents.

Some participants in these conversations claimed to have established charitable efforts that put them in contact with children. For example, an organization called BL Charity said it was seeking money to send Eastern European children to camp.

The charity’s site, which recently closed, showed scores of images of children at camp and in their homes, supposedly taken by the men running the site. The effort was organized by pedophiles; BL is the online term for “boy-lover.” It eventually shut down, largely from a lack of money, according to a posting from the site’s operators. After the site closed, further details of BL Charity could not be learned. Not every organization and effort of the pedophiles is directly tied to trying to reach children. For example, pedophiles have created Internet radio stations for the purpose of providing support for one another and encouraging their perceived social movement.

It is not known how many such stations exist, nor the size of the audience. The most prominent station appears to be Sure Quality Radio, which on its home page proclaims, “From all levels of society you will find us, not as predators but as human beings, loving and caring for boys or girls or both.” The site has a program schedule and an online store selling mainstream music and movies featuring children.

People who work with Sure Quality Radio did not respond to questions e-mailed to them from The Times, although one person with the online name of boystory replied by saying he was immediately severing all ties with the station.

There are also online podcasts, recorded talk shows of 60 to 90 minutes featuring discussions among pedophiles. The discussions, as described online, deal with topics like “benefits of age difference in sexual relationships”; “failure of sex offender registries”; “children’s sexual autonomy, practices and consequences” and “the misrepresentation of pedophilia in the news media.”

With the chat rooms, radio stations and other organizations, pedophiles’ views are continually reinforced. But some realize that this online echo chamber can warp reality. For example, a man calling himself AtosW reported to fellow pedophiles that he had been chatting on a game site frequented by boys. A conversation began about the Dutch pedophile party, AtosW said, and the minors reacted with threats of violence.

AtosW was perplexed. “Why are posters THAT young so angry about it?” he asked. “It is after all THEIR rights that they are pushing for.”


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A man calling himself Ritter responded. "Your post is a typical example of what happens when you spend too much time in the online BL community," he wrote. "Believe it or not, most young children are NOT anxious to have sex with adult men."

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DARK CORNERS

With Child Sex Sites on the Run, Nearly Nude Photos Hit the Web

By **KURT EICHENWALD**

In the photograph, the model is shown rising out of a bubble bath, suds dripping from her body. Her tight panties and skimpy top are soaked and revealing. She gazes at the viewer, her face showing a wisp of a smile that seems to have been coaxed from off-camera.

In just over seven months, the model has become an online phenomenon. She has thousands of fans from around the world, membership lists show, who pay as much as \$30 a month to see images of her. According to the posted schedule, new photographs of her — many clearly intended to be erotic, all supposedly taken that week — are posted online every Friday for her growing legions of admirers.

The model's online name is Sparkle. She is — at most — 9 years old.

Sparkle is one of hundreds of children being photographed by adults, part of what appears to be the latest trend in online child exploitation: Web sites for pedophiles offering explicit, sexualized images of children who are covered by bits of clothing — all in the questionable hope of allowing producers, distributors and customers to avoid child pornography charges.

In recent months, an array of investigations of the child pornography business — by the Justice Department, state and local law enforcement and Congress — have contributed to wholesale shutdowns of some of the most sexually explicit Internet sites trafficking in child images. But they have been rapidly replaced by a growing number of these so-called model sites, Internet locations that offer scores of original photographs of scantily clad under-age children like Sparkle, often posed in ways requested by subscribers.

More than 200 of the sites have been found by The New York Times through online advertising aimed at pedophiles, and a vast majority focus mostly on one child. Almost all the children appear to be between the ages of 2 and 12.

Based on descriptions in online customer forums and in Web pages showing image samples, the children are photographed by people who have frequent access to them. The sites often include images of "guests": children who are described as a friend of the featured child, but who appear for only a day. The sites say the children come from different parts of the world, including the United States.

Based on the images and wording from online advertisements, the sites show toddlers wearing tight

thongs, and slightly older children posing evocatively while wearing makeup and feather boas. There is even a site that offers images of girls and boys who appear to be 5 or 6 years old, wearing just diapers.

In online conversations observed by The Times over four months, pedophiles portrayed model sites as the last of a shrinking number of Internet locations for sexual images of minors.

"I considered the authors of those sites as leaders of a rebellion movement for child porn," a man calling himself Heartfallen wrote in an online site for pedophiles, discussing the decline in the number of sites featuring images of naked minors. "They've vanished. There is much less freedom on the Internet now. We still have a rebellion made up of nonnude child modeling sites. But are they going to suffer the same fate as their predecessors?"

Insight to the Ramsey Case

The secretive world of child exploitation is in the spotlight because of an arrest last week in the 1996 murder of Jon Benet Ramsey, a 6-year-old beauty pageant princess. The suspect was a fugitive from charges of possessing child pornography and had exhibited a fascination with the sexual abuse of children.

While many of the recently created sites are veering into new territory, the concept of for-pay modeling sites using children has been around for years. They first appeared in the late 1990's, when entrepreneurs, and even parents, recognized that there was a lucrative market online for images of girls and boys.

Sites with names like lilamber.com emerged, showing photographs of children, usually modeling in clothes or swimsuits. Their existence set off a fury of criticism in Congress about possible child exploitation, but proposed legislation about such sites never passed.

The sites that have emerged in recent months, however, are markedly different. Unlike the original sites, the newer ones are explicit in their efforts to market to pedophiles, referring to young children with phrases like "hot" and "delicious." The children involved are far younger, and the images far more sexual, emphasizing the minors' genitals and buttocks.

Some modeling sites have already attracted the attention of law enforcement. Earlier this year, prosecutors obtained a guilty plea on child pornography charges from Sheila L. Sellinger, then of Shoals, Ind., who had been selling illegal photographs of her 10-year-old daughter on a modeling Web site. Last month, Ms. Sellinger was sentenced to almost 12 years in prison.

Ms. Sellinger, who earned thousands of dollars a week from the pornographic yet clothed images of her daughter, cooperated with law enforcement, leading to the arrest of two men who had been assisting her with her site and had been running several more, court records show.

To attract subscribers, central marketing sites, called portals, list scores of available modeling sites that accept money in exchange for access to children's images. The portals promote the busiest sites, ranking them by the number of hits they receive.

Such a marketing approach proved effective for some online child pornography businesses that have disappeared over the last year, including those that offered illicit videos of children generated by Webcams.

The Times did not subscribe to any sites, which it first saw referenced in online conversations among pedophiles. The Times followed a link posted in those conversations to forum postings and images on freely accessible pages of the modeling sites. Because those sites appeared to be illegal, The Times was required by law to report what it had found to authorities. Federal law enforcement officials were notified in July about the sites. In contrast to their advertising, many of the sites portray themselves on their main pages as regular modeling agencies trying to find work for their talent. But executives in the legitimate modeling business said that virtually everything about the sites runs contrary to industry practice. Most child images for genuine agencies are password-protected, the executives said, with access granted to companies and casting agents only after a check of their backgrounds.

These executives said that real modeling agencies would refuse to use the types of sexualized images of children sought by pedophiles, not only because they are exploitative and illegal, but also because they would be bad business.

Such images on an agency Web site would drive away many parents who might be seeking representation for their child, executives said; indeed, most photographs of child models are nothing more than head shots. And the legitimate agents provide the phone numbers, addresses and names of their executives so potential clients can contact them; most of the sites aimed at pedophiles not only provide little or no means of contact, but even hide the identities of the owners behind anonymous site registrations.

"These are clearly not bona fide companies, and it's obvious these are just Web sites for people to go on and view children in an unhealthy manner," Bonnie Breen, chief booker for the Bizzykidz Agency, a prominent modeling agency for children based in London, said when provided with a description of the emerging modeling sites.

Despite repeated statements on the sites that they are lawful, they may well run afoul of American law. While the issues are far from settled — thus leading to the attempts by Congress to clarify the law — courts have worked over the last two decades to define standards for what constitutes potentially illegal images of children.

'Lascivious Exhibition' Standard

Under law, for an image that does not involve a child engaged in a sex act, a court must find that it entails "lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area" of a minor to determine that it is child pornography. As a result, courts have ruled that images of naked children were not automatically pornographic, and thus not illegal, while also holding that the mere presence of clothing on a photographed child was not, in itself, adequate to declare the image lawful.

Instead, the courts often apply a six-pronged test, developed in a 1986 case called *United States v.*

Dost, to determine whether an image meets the “lascivious exhibition” standard. That test — which requires a court to examine the child’s pose and attire, the suggestiveness and intent of the image and other factors — includes one standard on whether the child is naked. However, no single standard under Dost is absolute, and courts must continuously examine potentially illegal images while considering each part of the test.

The leading precedent on child pornography involving clothed minors is a federal case known as *United States v. Knox*, which involved a pedophile who obtained erotic videos of girls. In that 1994 case, the Federal Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of the pedophile, Stephen Knox, saying explicitly that clothing alone did not automatically mean that images of children were legal.

“The harm Congress attempted to eradicate by enacting the child pornography laws is present when a photographer unnaturally focuses on a minor child’s clothed genital area with the obvious intent to produce an image sexually arousing to pedophiles,” the court’s ruling says. “The rationale underlying the statute’s proscription applies equally to any lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area whether these areas are clad or completely exposed.”

While adult pornography has some First Amendment protections, there are no such protections for child pornography. Still, some experts have expressed discomfort, in general, at criminalizing clothed pictures of minors.

“This is a difficult area,” said Michael A. Bamberger, a First Amendment specialist at Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal, based in New York, who filed a brief on behalf of a booksellers’ group in the *Knox* case. “The whole history of the exception from First Amendment protections for child pornography is based on the harm to the child. But there is in my view a free speech issue with respect to designating photographs of persons under the age of 18 who are clothed as child pornography.”

But Mr. Bamberger expressed uncertainty about whether his concerns applied when told details of the model sites found by *The Times*. “To me, it sounds as if you are really talking about nude equivalents, almost like cellophane clothing, and that’s not clothing at all.” To distinguish between illegal images and, say, photographs of children posing in underwear for a store catalog, the court said it had to apply the Dost standards and review a range of facts, like the nature of the images and whether the marketing was intended to appeal to pedophiles.

For example, the court noted, a potential customer could know the images of minors were illegal if they were marketed with statements proclaiming that they would “blow your mind so completely you’ll be begging for mercy.” Explicit listing of the children’s ages, along with sexually loaded terms like “hot,” could also be used as evidence of illegality, the court said.

The modeling sites reviewed by *The Times* incorporated many such references to encourage viewers to subscribe.

That is true for one of the most successful collections of sites, according to some portal rankings, run by an entity called PlayToy Entertainment. On its central site, PlayToy holds itself out as a company that helps children start modeling careers. There is, however, no phone number, address

or prominent e-mail address available for companies that might seek to hire the girls or for parents who might want their children to be models.

The central PlayToy site originally located by The Times contained links to as many as six sites featuring little girls. In recent days, the central site has been redesigned, removing the links to the girls' individual sites.

Those sites still exist, however, including the one for the girl called Sparkle. Another site features a prepubescent girl named Lolly — a widely used online code word for pornographic images of girls. There are even sexualized images of a girl called Baby, who appears younger than 5 and whose photographs seem to go back as far as her second birthday or earlier, when she was still in diapers.

The marketing makes clear that this is no typical modeling company.

"Call 911 before viewing!!!" proclaims the site for Sparkle, which shows her in a thong so revealing that she appears to be naked below the waist. The ad for the site uses words that echo those cited in the Knox decision, reading, "Only 9 years old! Hot!"

Other PlayToy sites are more explicit. "Feel her breathe on your face, take a gentle touch from your screen, open your mind and push the limits," reads the site for the girl called Lolly. "If you are ready to handle this trip, PlayToy Lolly is calling."

An advertisement for another PlayToy site, featuring a girl called Peach, declares, "A peach has never looked so delicious. **8 years old**."

The site includes a picture of the young girl wearing a tank top pulled off one shoulder. Directly below that is a purple emblem with the company name and the words, "Nonnude website: 100% legal."

But experts said that assurance was almost certainly not true. Based on the ages of the children, the marketing words and customer comments on the PlayToy sites described to him by The Times, a lead lawyer in the Knox case said that the subscribers had plenty of reason to worry.

"They shouldn't have any comfort that they are not breaking the law," said Edward W. Warren, a partner from the Washington office of Kirkland & Ellis who helped to argue Knox as a representative of 234 members of Congress who joined the case. "This sounds worse and more graphic and more grotesque than what we were dealing with, particularly given how young the children are."

The assurance by the company that the sites are lawful is irrelevant to any potential prosecution, experts said. Indeed, in the Knox decision, the court held that defendants could be found guilty if they were aware of the "general nature and character" of images that they bought involving clothed children in sexual poses.

"The child pornography laws would be eviscerated if a pedophile's personal opinion about the legality of sexually explicit videos was transformed into the applicable law," the court held.

With Child Sex Sites on the Run, Nearly Nude Photos Hit the Web - N... <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/20/business/20model.html?pagewanted...>

In their comments on PlayToy's site, which can be viewed without registering with the company, the subscribers make clear that they are aware these are sites for pedophiles, not legitimate modeling clients.

"I think it would be awesome to have the models start off fetchingly clothed, and then strip down to tops or panties (or thongs!!)," a customer calling himself head2fat wrote on the forum.

Another client, calling himself ludwig66, instead requested that the girls appear in stockings, "ending up removing them to reveal bare feet and legs." And still another customer, calling himself littlefeet, asked the site owners to pose the girl known as Baby in bare feet with her toes pointed, "so all of those beautiful wrinkles show!!!"

While PlayToy's management and its members repeatedly assure themselves online about the legality of their images, they did not hesitate to post images from known child pornography sites. For example, when Ms. Sellinger was arrested this year for selling photos of her daughter, PlayToy members — and even the site operator — posted messages of dismay, referring to both mother and daughter by name. They also composed a photographic homage to the girl in the forum discussion, using images from the site that had been deemed illegal.

PlayToy's sites have been online since October, company records show. But in that short time, the records show, 6,000 people have subscribed to view the images of the girls. Each subscriber is paying \$30 a month for each site; that means the operators have collected a minimum of \$180,000 in that short time, assuming every subscriber bought only one site for one month.

The cash has been collected either by credit card — processed through a company called Advanced Internet Billing Services, or through Western Union payments — as well as through an online money system called e-gold. A Tortuous Digital Trail

Attempts to learn the identities of the people behind PlayToy suggested many possible locations. Payments through Western Union were processed through Ukraine. An administrative e-mail address suggested the company was based in Russia. Using a commercial software program, The Times traced messages sent by the PlayToy sites back to servers in Germany and obtained what is known as the Internet protocol address of that online host.

An examination of the registration documents for the sites' names led to a company that is essentially a front, permitting its name to be used as the registrant by people who wish to remain anonymous.

The Times then obtained business records about the site prepared by someone involved in its operation.

If true, the records show the name, address, telephone number and other personal information of a man in Florida who is involved in running the site. An e-mail address listed in the records was traced to postings that appeared in pedophile conversation sites, including comments praising child pornography and images of young girls in thongs. Because of the possibility of identity theft, The

With Child Sex Sites on the Run, Nearly Nude Photos Hit the Web - N... <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/20/business/20model.html?pagewanted...>

Times has elected not to publish the name of that man or of associates who also appear to be involved in the business.

The Florida man did not return a voice mail message left on his cellphone or respond to an e-mail message.

Still, even if the operators of PlayToy are positively identified and compelled to shut their sites, the growing business of model sites would probably continue to thrive. PlayToy's many subscribers, a large number of whom identify themselves on the site as living in America, could simply drift over to other model sites, all offering similar fare.

There, on each of those hundreds of competing sites, the subscribers will find at least one other little girl who, every few days or so, is dressed in panties or thongs, placed in a bathtub or posed on a bed, while a nearby adult snaps pictures for the delight of a paying audience of thousands.

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Laundry, High Speed
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>>They also don't know that finding and collecting KP in the newsgroups
>>has become largely passe. I check in here occasionally but for the
>>most part I collect from peer-to-peer. In the last year and a half, I
>>have collected several gigabytes of files, most of which have never
>>been seen here and likely will never be.

>>They also don't realize (evidently) that, for every hapless idiot that
>>gets caught with KP because they were too stupid to encrypt, there are
>>likely hundreds still living their KP lives that will never be caught.

>>Funny thing starts to happen after a while. The very fact that B & C
>>are doing what they do makes it harder and harder for the cops to
>>catch people.

>>I say . . . more power to you B & C. I hope you manage to run everyone
>>out of these groups. Then they'll enter the world of peer-to-peer and
>>there will be even more KP than ever for us to collect.

>>People that collect or produce KP have been around since before there
>>was a way to produce it. I have seen antique (1930's) KP. Likely, they
>>will be around long after B & C are dead too. For all of their effort,
>>B & C are but a minor annoyance.

>>So . . . you GO B & C!

>>RWAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA!!!!

>>For those of you that think peer-to-peer is not safe, realize this:

>>1. News server operators keep logs. If they don't, a court order fixes
>>that. Peer-to-peer is almost impossible to trace. There are no logs.
>>It is true that your ISP may keep some logs and could actually log
>>every connection you make. But it makes no difference. They can't
>>prove that you have received a file even if they are tapped in right
>>at the other side of the wall. They MUST FIND IT IN YOUR POSSESSION
o
>>prove you received it. PERIOD. (In the US of course. Other countries
>>may have other rules.)

>>2. If you trade only KP and no other files (like software and music),
>>then the possibility that you will be found out is highly unlikely. I
>>have been trading on peer-to-peer (WinMx) for a couple of years now
>>and I have yet to hear of anyone being busted as a result of being
>>tracked down through their connection. If you trade KP and software
>>and/or music, then you have shit for brains! For those of you that
>>might as how it is the RIAA/MPAA is able to track down P2P traders . .
>>.

>>a. they only bother with the most prolific ones
>>b. the MPAA/RIAA can connect and collect (or distribute) the copyright
>>material legally because the material is not illegal (music and
>>commercial movies) so it isn't patently illegal to send it over the
>>wire or possess it.

>>(NOTE: That isn't true about KP. NO ONE can LEGALLY transmit KP.
>>Courts and law enforcement can move it around in the form it was
>>collected (e.g. printed or electronic files) for evidence, but they
>>cannot transmit it (on P2P or any other transmission over the wire)
>>for any reason. Funny how that works. They can recieve it though, to
>>collect evidence, as long as you offer it. They just can't solicit it
>>in trade which is the only way a collector can connect to me.)

>>And for that very reason, that the MPAA/RIAA can actually offer
>>copyright material legally to catch people. If you trade KP P2P and
>>you are a trader (at any level) of copyright work (movies, software,
>>music and scanned or electronic print items) then you are letting
>>yourself in for a search warrant for those files. The warrant will
>>read "for any files in the possession of the users that he illegally
>>distributes or are otherwise illegal to possess." Get the picture?

>>3. Because of the highly selective nature of peer-to-peer, it is easy
>>to contact KP traders and even easier to keep non-kp traders out. I
>>have my system set up to automatically trade files. If you don't trade
>>KP, you'll never be able to connect to me. That is because you must
>>have a file I want before a trade is established. Since the cops can't
>>use real KP to try and entice traders, they can't connect to me. Funny
>>thing about the law . . . it doesn't allow the cops to break the law
>>to enforce it. They cannot set up a server with real KP files and
>>transmit them in order to catch the traders. They would be defacto

09/25/2006 15:27 2125564989
 ogic Groups: all.oyp.sworp

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>>breaking the laws they are trying to enforce. It is also almost
 >>impossible to set up a fake share because of the way the software
 >>works.

>>4. If you keep your local hard drive totally encrypted, there is no
 >>way for the cops to prosecute you. They have to FIND IT IN YOUR
 >>POSSESSION to make a case. Encryption eliminates all hope of them
 >>finding it. Just make sure that you are using a good user ID and
 >>password on your operating system. As soon as I hit 'CTRL-ALT-DEL', my
 >>files can never be read. A reboot or power-off means the encrypted
 >>hard drive must be unlocked for the system to start. Good luck! If you
 >>collect KP and you don't use hard encryption, I suggest that you get
 >>yourself a 10" dildo and start raping your ass with it now. That way,
 >>you'll have an easier time when you "go in."

>>Persons in possession of KP that are caught with it, are caught
 >>co-incidental to another event. Like the buffoon that took his KP
 >>laden computer to the shop for repair . . . fuggin' DUH! Or the guy
 >>that left the unencrypted CDROM's in his car when he took it for
 >>service. Nosy service guy checked them out and . . . WHAM!!!! CRASH!
 >>BANG! SMASH!!!! Life over . . .

>>5. There are some traders that share 5000+ KP files at a time. There
 >>are thousands of files out there and new ones appear almost daily. If
 >>you really want variety, peer-to-peer is the way to get it. I am
 >>amazed that the majority of the files traded in the news groups are
 >>the same ones I first collected as long as 6 or 7 years ago.

>>6. There are no crusaders on peer-to-peer. Because of the discreet way
 >>that it works, they have no way to interfere.

>>In closing, look at my file list. Look at the dates and the total
 >>files and the size of the archive. Realize too, this is only part of
 >>what I have. Some of the names don't make sense because the characters
 >>in the names are not english. There is a huge amount from asian
 >>countries. These are only the boy KP files because that is what I
 >>collect. There are others sharing thousands of girl KP files.

>>AND NO . . . I WILL NOT POST OR TRADE THEM BY OTHER MEANS.

>>PERIOD!

>>SO DON'T BOTHER ASKING!!!!

>> Volume in drive K is NewNTFSVOL
 >> Volume Serial Number is 64F8-22A8

>> Directory of K:\Pornucopia\Shared Complete

>>07/30/2006 10:39 PM <DIR> .
 >>07/30/2006 10:39 PM <DIR> ..

09/25/2006 15:27
 Jgle Groups: alt.oy.p.swp

2125564989

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 1 08:47:21

>>03/26/2006 12:50 PM 17,576,982 !!!blakcapture4_1.55.avi
 >>03/15/2006 10:23 AM 12,609,822 !!!blakcapture5_1.22.avi
 >>05/31/2006 12:04 AM 185,885,833 !!!NEW-Boy11y Used&photographed

>>by 2Men (exciting!).mpg
 >>07/13/2006 03:50 AM 63,188,163 !New - Cambrazil004 - dois
 >>negros gays 12 e 14 yr e um man - muito p,ssimo.wmv
 >>07/10/2006 08:32 AM 81,863,933 !New - ks Romy - In my bed.avi
 >>11/17/2003 04:11 AM 833,792,469 (1gen) Angel Friends - Erection
 >>& Intercourse - 15yo & 15yo [Douyama] (833 792 469).mpg
 >>11/28/2003 10:44 AM 621,424,710 (1gen) Angel Friends - Poem of
 >>Brothers - 12yo Masaru & 15yo Katsushi (621 424 710).mpg
 >>12/28/2004 04:38 AM 320,149,286 (1gen) Cute 12yo jerk then tied
 >>and fuck.MPG
 >>11/17/2003 03:32 AM 556,932,452 (1gen) Jer.mpg
 >>12/12/2003 04:22 AM 461,404,157 (1gen) Love Techniques -
 >>Personal Tutoring 2 [Douyama].mpg
 >>01/12/2005 10:46 AM 871,747,588 (1gen) Lovely 10&11yo sex with
 >>man.mpg 11/30/2003 06:05 PM 574,794,920 (1gen) Ode of Cute
 >>Angel Friends [shota wet dreams].mpg
 >>11/23/2003 07:08 AM 141,886,632 (1gen) Serious Cute 10yo Ref's
 >>Happy Moments.mpg
 >>01/10/2003 02:03 AM 559,561,858 (Jap Man & Boy) 9 yo boy
 >>eagerly sucks and rims man & 4 jap boys [50m].mpg
 >>11/28/2003 03:19 AM 138,786,766 (JapMan&Teen - Brn20) Man
 >>fondles, sucks and fucks [15m].mpg
 >>06/05/2006 12:29 PM 439,265,280 (JBL)earlyteen - Boy 13yo with
 >>big dick fucked.mpg
 >>06/03/2006 01:51 AM 375,982,865 (Jo+man) Boy has sex with man
 >>in van --- very good.mpg
 >>12/11/2003 07:17 PM 554,653,696 (JP-boy) (12yo boy sex).mpg
 >>12/11/2003 04:57 AM 515,848,196 (JP-boy) (Seiji, 12yo soccer
 >>boy).mpg 12/02/2005 01:23 PM 670,396,367 (little boy)10yo Yuji
 >>2.mpg 05/30/2006 01:10 PM 173,153,722 (luto) 02.avi
 >>03/26/2006 09:32 AM 68,125,724 (luto) 08.mpg
 >>06/11/2006 07:00 PM 14,372,864 (luto) anpermo-1 excellent
 >>1994.wmv 07/05/2006 04:32 AM 35,031,040 (luto) anto-1.wmv
 >>06/05/2006 07:06 AM 66,801,664 (luto) anto-1B_L.mpg
 >>03/14/2006 12:55 PM 23,785,472 (Luto) anto-1C-L.mpg
 >>05/30/2006 12:26 AM 4,739,072 (luto) anto-1E-L.mpg
 >>03/14/2006 11:56 PM 22,224,092 (luto) asbto1.mpg
 >>06/04/2006 01:44 PM 219,142,940 (luto) cito-1-L.avi
 >>07/12/2006 11:17 AM 16,467,567 (luto) jaco-2.wmv
 >>07/11/2006 04:25 PM 18,523,543 (luto) jaco-3.wmv
 >>03/15/2006 02:09 AM 40,756,272 (luto) jato-5-L.mpg
 >>07/06/2006 08:54 PM 14,422,016 (luto) luto-4.wmv
 >>06/05/2006 11:42 AM 175,670,924 (luto) luto-6.mpg
 >>07/02/2006 10:57 AM 22,747,843 (luto) lutowi-1.wmv
 >>07/06/2006 03:54 PM 10,906,845 (luto) Lutowi-2.wmv
 >>06/03/2006 05:23 PM 98,074,624 (Luto) micto-1-L.mpg
 >>06/03/2006 04:03 PM 154,260,076 (luto) moja f.mpg
 >>03/15/2006 04:19 PM 51,390,612 (luto) moja-1-1.mpg

>06/12/2006 02:25 AM 214,682,380 (luto) wiluto-2-L.avi
>01/18/2005 10:47 PM 331,087,872 (M&b) mes1.MPG
>11/28/2002 12:05 PM 122,397,304 (Man&Boy - Bathtime) Hot!!!
><Cute 12yo blond boy sucks and gets fucked by cameraman [1'm44s].mpg
>11/14/2005 07:43 PM 186,879,096 (yamad boy) Grade 7 And 8 Boys
>-Having Hard Sex.mpg
>01/12/2003 04:57 PM 6,746,116 (fVffjf")
>"v,l,u"?@ZB%oe-"ä-(TÄ-)q,Iz,qY'ät?j".mpg
>11/29/2005 12:25 AM 861,204,880 (fvffjf)"~YZR
>(CE),Y?,Y'wZg'B,aEf N'i,j,zn...T.mpg
>03/14/2006 06:35 AM 143,925,824 (fvffjf)"?"N"-S\$,A%,O,O,fyfif
>*,'ô'E,"ë,âar,B,U,i,"é,e.mpg
>-12/05/2003 07:12 PM 540,663,613 (fvffjf)"~YZR
>-ŽvtŠŮ,P,R?-Y""ü-Y.mpg 11/28/2003 03:24 PM 288,191,222
>((fvffjf)?wczZ?+&,ß,Y,Y_Ü_Y„ñ,H?Hx(288,191,222).mpg
>12/08/2003 12:42 PM 661,858,258 (fvffjf?)W+f+jf
>*,ÝfaJfcEN,+f+jf??@?@tSw?y?rNC@,(I,o+,.,Y.Y.Y,-ÖZ-++
661,858,258).mp
>g 01/03/2005 12:49 AM t08,851,932 (fvffjf^~YZR)
>?-¿?“cE=ýArcadia.mpg 03/21/2004 11:14 AM 436,637,768
>-(fvffjf^~YZR) CEýSoJzfjbNfx.mpg 01/12/2003 01:02 PM 23,988,092

>>(fvffjf"a),"K,A\$","e,tšW7m%" "P?d".mpg
>>11/23/2003 09:01 PM 508,532,064 (ÝQYC) "øZRÝfiYSWÝWÝ<
>1X7E?"?-N,AYÁÿiy<,7□?; f,VVVØY"(ÝQCVC?
>09/11/2003 10:45 AM 7,680,004 (ÝQCVC?
>zZ"NÝjYYyY,NYNyYíYiYiY%B,æzb,S.mpg
>>[5yo.boys.penis.masturbated].mpg
>12/23/2004 03:30 AM 3,183,120 (YVY+y^+"%)
>10y.boy.plays.with.his.penis.&.balls(Om31se).mpg
>07/13/2006 06:24 PM 854,859,280 (YVYðY") Children3.mpg
>12/10/2003 01:25 PM 441,843,528 (YVYðY") "æZR
>?"-NYÍY7Y7YO7X.mpg 12/02/2003 06:15 AM 800,807,393
>(YVYðY")13TE-I,,□, æ,Z,D,,,@.mgp 06/04/2006 06:13 AM
>>605,734,332 (YVYðY")?y"øZR?z,,,,□,á,l'h Š'n,P,S?
>>l,...,□,í,r%å,&ZYAfY?<?";,+. "-EEZE?.?],mgp 01/12/2005 11:05 AM
>> 937,249,841 (YVYðY")...., □ , ?Zö?3*-17@]ze+-Sw?
>>□, ",□,3,?, ã,y,ç, (YVFYF%@@?oA,"YfiYiY]?ZE?,(937.249.841).mpg
>>07/12/2006 02:34 PM 546,971,652
>(YVYðY"ÆYE-a"E"øZR),,%,□-,ã,l?<-% Ž82□]],mpg
>>01/04/2003 09:02 AM 9,105,412 (???TV????????????
>>8&??? ???
>>01/04/2003 12:12 AM 330,133,498 (????????????????????
>>12/30/2002 08:13 PM 2,766,852 (?????????????) little boy gets
>jerked off, shoots his load, little scream.mp
>>01/07/2003 04:47 PM 191,266,064 (?????)little boy????
>>2????????????????7869????ll.mpg
>>01/08/2003 04:59 PM 206,294,508 (?????????)????????? mpg
>>01/06/2003 03:38 PM 470,289,792 (?????)7757776 Chubby and slim
>>10 yr olds..mpg
>>01/05/2003 01:37 PM 188,136,524 (????)

09/25/2006 15:27
 igle Groups: alt.oyp.sworp

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NYT BUSINESS DAY

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>15?????????2?13??15????????? 4???.mpg
 >01/19/2005 04:19 AM 232,185,757 00 Preteen boy and man - (with
 >sound).mpg
 >12/21/2004 12:27 PM 382,108 000-24-15 boy-white tshirt.avi
 >12/27/2004 06:33 PM 8,575,560 000-49-12-boy in black undies
 >strips.mpg
 >01/26/2005 04:24 AM 77,649,924 001 Black boy + man.mpg
 >07/04/2006 08:17 PM 55,308,292 00von56(111).mpg
 >06/05/2006 12:51 PM 15,168,244 00von56(116).mpg
 >06/05/2006 01:27 PM 3,684,592 00von56(jens).mpg
 >07/05/2006 11:00 AM 314,170,276 050905d.mpg
 >11/26/2002 11:31 PM 243,382 07yB & 10yB-01-2.mpeg
 >07/07/2006 04:29 AM 1,513,478 105.mpg
 >11/29/2002 07:00 AM 60,224,640 10yB & 15yB-01.mpeg
 >12/26/2002 01:25 PM 38,832,712 10yo boy alex.mpg
 >12/02/2002 10:46 PM 94,894,239 10yo boy sklave for dad
 >complete with sound.avi
 >12/26/2004 07:06 PM 5,029,136 10yo Danny fucks 12yo Sean
 >(FUCKIN HOT english).mpg
 >12/28/2004 06:54 AM 98,472,532 10yomexicanboy_assfuck.mpg
 >08/21/2005 03:22 AM 462,446,596 10yoX10yo 12yoX12yo(Boys).mpg
 >09/13/2003 03:44 PM 17,027,072 10yr boy wickst 13yr boy.mpg
 >01/06/2005 09:03 PM 91,872,067 11 yo & 12 yo (2 Spain Boys
 >Have Fun).mpg
 >01/21/2005 10:23 PM 235,437,980 11 YO Big Bro Having Sex With 8
 >YO Bro.mpg
 >12/04/2005 02:12 PM 3,850,752 111.avi
 >12/04/2005 05:19 PM 1,759,232 113.avi
 >12/05/2005 04:40 PM 1,238,232 115.mpg
 >11/29/2002 10:40 AM 416,001 11yB & 12yB-03.mpeg
 >12/02/2002 01:02 PM 655,467 11yo boy fucks his 10yo brother
 >doggystyle VERY GOOD.mpg
 >11/21/2002 03:42 AM 1,211,708 11YO BOY MAKES 13YO BOY
 CUM.MPG
 >11/29/2002 03:09 PM 11,362,304
 >11yo_scott_and_dad_(scott)(1).mpg 03/25/2004 01:02 PM
 >51,222,805 12 , 15 boy jo .mpg 03/15/2006 03:15 PM 245,332,834
 >12.mpg 11/30/2005 10:54 PM 7,843,500 122_boy6_4.mpg
 >08/21/2005 12:59 PM 17,248,260 125_boy2_parts1to6.mpg
 >12/04/2005 11:41 PM 7,827,868 128.mpg
 >03/08/2004 08:33 PM 2,207,748 12jckoff.mpg
 >03/22/2004 09:14 PM 658,825 12Y0Boy CumShooter.mpeg
 >11/27/2002 07:54 AM 741,076 12yB & M-01.mpeg
 >05/21/2004 10:21 PM 37,688,320 12yo black boy sucks & man
 >plays.avi 12/27/2004 12:19 PM 4,734,104 12yo boy cum standing
 >over 10yo(1).MPG 11/16/2005 11:24 AM 97,579,364 12yrbf02.avi
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 >>orgasam.mpg 12/23/2004 05:51 PM 16,202,658 13yo Hispanic
 >>boy.avi 12/21/2004 06:10 PM 173,664 13yr cuty jerks off on
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 >>good.mpg 11/21/2002 01:41 AM 413,677 14Yr old suckin off a
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 >>06/03/2006 07:39 PM 158,896,320 189.mpg
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 >>sex child porn pre-teen preteen childporn xxx young.mpg
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 >>B-B-suck.mpeg 11/24/2005 03:51 PM 105,764,868 2 Little
 >>Turkish-Boys Naked (1) - 7 + 9 Years.MPG
 >>11/29/2002 03:19 PM 65,547,525 2 preteen boys and a
 >>man_very_good.mpg 11/28/2002 10:05 PM 8,006,504 2 preteen
 >>boys sucking 1 teen boy.mpg 11/29/2002 12:54 AM 557,000 2
 >>small boys play with dad's dick (1).mpeg
 >>02/18/2001 11:25 PM 42,893,315 2 smooth teen twink w big
 >>cocks fuck - INTENSE ANAL- dreamboy.mpg
 >>12/09/2002 07:05 AM 426,890,622 2 young boys lovers 14yo .mpg
 >>11/17/2003 01:16 AM 49,459,928 2-8yo boys+man.mpg
 >>12/06/2005 11:26 AM 69,615,616 20.avi
 >>11/28/2005 09:41 PM 557,503,336 232 - nice 15yo scout
 >>fucked.mpg 09/10/2003 04:17 AM 1,215,000 2boys.mpeg
 >>07/10/2006 09:42 AM 89,806,852 2boysb.mpg
 >>12/23/2004 07:00 AM 12,050,432 2boysfun(stevie).mpg
 >>11/15/2004 11:07 PM 219,490,308 2messies.mpg
 >>01/25/2005 10:15 AM 33,063,548 3 Boys 12,13,14 Yo - Belgium -
 >>Part 2 - 043.mpg
 >>12/22/2004 03:14 AM 379,673,118 3 boys 8yo suck and fuck (very
 >>good!!!) with sound.MPG
 >>07/02/2006 03:49 PM 555,378,550 300.mpg
 >>01/01/2005 06:02 AM 285,059,805
 >>3some--man-fucks-12yboy-10ygirl(full- 33.02min).mpg

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 >>07/09/2006 07:54 PM 688,166,783 7th grade boy gets shaved his
 >>pubes then fucked.MPG
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 >>good.mpg 07/11/2006 01:16 AM 111,700,736 8 yo cute little boy
 >>being fucked & sucked by dad.mpg
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 >>12/31/2004 08:34 PM 620,828,712 8yr&14yr cousins sleepover(pre
 >>teen) boys .mpg
 >>11/20/2003 04:57 PM 36,960,968 9 yo and 16 yo mexican boys
 >>have sex.mpg
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 >>12/10/2003 03:12 AM 208,854,974 ab015.mpg
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 >>anthony06.avi 12/31/2004 05:06 AM 84,506,628 Anthony1.mpg
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 >>(veryGood).mpg 03/08/2004 08:33 PM 486,418 B16SB12.MPG
 >>03/10/2004 02:16 AM 6,656,000 ballis_czechboy02.mpg
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 >>03/08/2004 08:33 PM 324,408 BB4_12.MPG

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 >>on bed- TOP QUALITY.mpg
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 >>fucked.mpg 12/29/2002 02:17 PM 100,605,920 boy and dad.mpg
 >>05/27/2002 01:51 AM 94,216,772 Boy boy - 15yr old fucks 10 yr
 >>old - pjK24.mpg
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 >>12/12/2003 12:02 PM 44,592,912 boy fucked by dad 2.mpg
 >>11/29/2002 03:03 PM 10,512,920 boy sucking man(aldo)2.mpg
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 >>lite sex play CUTE - ANTHONY.MPG
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 >>11/19/2005 01:36 PM 166,180,370 BOYANDKID.MPG
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>>brother with cum EXCELLENT.mpg
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>>07/14/2006 02:17 AM 33,711,616 cam - 14 - 6yobrothersufu-2.avi
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>>11/16/2005 02:12 AM 33,711,616 cam - 6n14-brothersufu-2.avi
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 >>02.avi 02/20/2006 12:31 AM 303,038,088 DePa01.avi
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http://groups.google.com/group/alt.ovp.sworn/msg/9d67b5e2c0541c86?q=%22justin+berry%22&utoken=6Tf... 9/24/2006

[/groups.google.com/group/alt.ovn.sword/m/0d67b5a7a0641-860-4/30](https://groups.google.com/group/alt.ovn.sword/m/0d67b5a7a0641-860-4/30)

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>>Preteen - Zach1__man_fucks_7yo_boy_-_TO.mpg
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>>731,380,826 privado 04.mpg 12/01/2005 06:26 PM 340,742,144
>>privado 05.mpg 07/03/2006 08:10 PM 722,936,274 PRIVADO 09.mpg
>>11/25/2005 11:09 AM 725,926,588 privado 2.mpg.mpg
>>12/08/2005 09:34 AM 344,314,880 privado_04.mpg
>>12/04/2005 01:39 AM 336,754,688 privado_10.mpg
>>11/29/2005 05:13 AM 181,848,352 Privat-02---12+13-@-.mpg
>>12/03/2005 07:34 AM 96,634,934 Private 01.mpg
>>05/31/2006 01:11 AM 654,625,164 Private 3.mpg
>>03/14/2006 07:29 PM 36,501,602 private argnetin.wmv
>>11/29/2005 06:53 AM 164,295,316 private-03.mpg
>>01/09/2003 03:54 PM 582,677,412 Private2(12yo
>>japaneseboy-man).mpg 07/07/2006 12:22 AM 116,513,162
>>priv_in_and_b_7j.wmv 07/16/2001 11:18 PM 890,010
>>pr_12_mpeg384.mpg 07/16/2001 11:22 PM 923,652
>>pr_9_mpeg384.mpg 07/05/2006 07:07 AM 152,398,884 PTHC - under
>>age boy.mpg 12/03/2005 12:31 PM 54,462,940 puppen02.mpg
>>03/13/2006 05:12 AM 247,840,656 Pvc David14 - 4.mpg
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>>11/16/2005 03:10 AM 180,651,492 pvc Mex-1.mpg
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>>12/02/2006 11:33 PM 179,189,696 pvc mex-5.mpg
>>04/21/2006 04:46 AM 459,491,984 pvc Mikey 1 kingpass p101 zz
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>>friend part 2.mpg
>>12/31/2004 02:49 PM 430,606,988 pvc stooge boys.mpg
>>05/31/2006 02:51 AM 168,706,132 pvc ionic-4 soundyes(16m07s).mpg
>>12/31/2002 07:49 AM 22,425,600 pycap-full preteen boys.mpg
>>01/13/2000 10:00 PM 64,068,416 Pycap403.mpg
>>03/08/2004 08:38 PM 279,114 RBB1.MPG
>>03/08/2004 08:38 PM 281,605 RBB2.MPG
>>01/26/2005 06:06 PM 2,044,844 Relax.mpg
>>11/26/2005 03:58 AM 13,645,824 RenS 11yo - Special private.avi
>>02/04/2004 02:12 PM 484,928,270 RF#18_4.MPG
>>01/11/2004 08:23 PM 428,590,284 RF#19(Twins).mpg
>>02/08/2004 03:55 AM 63,435,824 RF#4_002(inc).mpg
>>08/14/2004 07:56 PM 204,974,060 RF#4_007.mpg
>>08/23/2004 10:08 PM 246,181,036 RF#6_001.mpg
>>08/23/2004 10:53 PM 165,702,112 RF#6_005.mpg
>>07/12/2006 05:30 PM 282,554,368 Roman.mpg
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>>12/24/2004 09:50 AM 135,231,544 ru-mb#1_010(1).mpg
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>>11/21/2003 08:41 AM 329,309,000 Russian Boys 9 & 13.mpg
>>12/15/2002 11:33 AM 168,754,455 Russian Flowers(young boys).mpg
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>>09/21/2004 12:08 AM 49,868,300 s00_Mark&Kyle.mpg

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09/25/2006 15:27 2125564989
 regis C:\temp\all.vfp\pawp

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 >>Glawson and friends.mpg
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 >>01/21/2005 12:45 AM 41,272,289 In my Room (boy).mpg
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 >>Jap-boys-2-selfmade.mpg 01/02/2003 01:09 AM 393,084,838
 >>Jap@boys anal.mpg 03/19/2004 10:26 PM 16,121,860 japan music
 >>arcade.mpg 11/28/2002 03:48 PM 58,755,371 japanboy and man.mpg
 >>12/08/2002 07:06 AM 202,701,604 Japanese-boy 11yo fucked by
 >>man.mpg 06/05/2006 08:06 PM 36,751,360 Jas2(he didnt know-I
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 >>3.mpg 08/14/2005 05:53 PM 685,474,524 K99 - Roland Part 2.mpg
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 >>07/11/2006 12:23 AM 32,660,943 Kra1.mpg

09/25/2006 15:27 2125564909

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 >>03/26/2006 03:01 PM 1,192,960
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 >>12/01/2003 03:39 AM 109,153,840 Spain06.mpg
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 >>03/03/2004 11:19 PM 2,045,120 steve_eatcum.mpg
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 >>Man fucks 11yo boy [3m].mpg
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 >>03/03/2004 11:00 PM 5,249,024 StevieBond02.mpg
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 >>11/05/2003 08:39 PM 16,890,878 Traz-new_anl.MPG

09/25/2006 15:27 ...2125564909

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>>and men.mpg
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>>suck man cock ~ 1boy 11yo and man.mpg
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>>Cock.mpg 12/21/2004 10:39 PM 214,173,167 zMartin Boy Reads
>>Magazine Then Gets Molested By Man.mpg
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>>man Part 1.avi 11/02/2003 03:05 PM 89,731,144 ZZ-044- 8yo boy
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>>Part 2.avi
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>>+ man Part 4.avi 11/09/2003 12:22 PM 27,436,440 ZZ-053- 9yo
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>>896 440).mpg
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>>608).avi 11/24/2003 11:19 PM 12,728,568 ZZ-108- 2 12yo boys in
>>bed.avi 02/20/2006 02:23 AM 155,554,254 ZZ-109.avi
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>>11/28/2003 03:51 PM 15,926,600 ZZ-125 mb.avi
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>>12yo Japan boy + man.avi 11/18/2003 02:28 AM 17,378,568
>>ZZ-169- 10 + 15yo Thai boy fuck.avi 11/05/2003 07:34 PM
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>> 32,682,680 ZZ-172- 13yo boy + friend Part 2.avi 11/18/2003 04:34
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>>12:46 PM 21,166,616 ZZ-175- 12 + 15yo boy suck (21 166 616).avi
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>>03/14/2006 09:52 AM 46,908,263 [b]!!NEW-MOV01894 boy assfk.MPG

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 >>MyLittleCousin2.mpg 07/13/2006 05:12 AM 160,915,828 [B]
 >>2-mulb.mpg 07/06/2006 06:18 AM 158,138,368 [B] 4netteBoys.mpg
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 >>07/04/2006 12:29 PM 156,007,330 [B] ksBalonby11.avi
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 >>07/04/2006 03:53 PM 519,381,464 [Italiansex][serie] ITALIAN_SEX
 >>[cute.boy10y-14y](49m45s).mpg
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 >>Berry and Steve 03 - Steve fucks Justin.avi
 >>07/14/2006 03:19 AM 6,594,560 [ManFkBy]Man fks
 >>boy_03[Mb10y].avi 07/14/2006 02:05 AM 5,664,768 [ManFkBy]Man
 >>fks boy_10[Mb10y].avi 07/03/2006 11:55 AM 5,496,832
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NYT BUSINESS DAY

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My Time At The Kindergarten

Posted by Jerry-Lee on Saturday, September 2 2006 at 05:22:22pm

My practical course work at the kindergarten is now over. it was almost two months that i was there and i made a lot experience. of which some is very interesting regarding child love. Here's the stuff that i experienced:

1. THE ONES WHO SUPPOSEDLY KNOW BEST CONFESS IT

Two of my colleagues said something that each i tried to memorize having heard it from someone who has worked with children for years. There was that one kindergarten teacher who was at the same time my boss. She was talking to me about some stuff, because she was asking me if i want to continue working there because the 'test-period' was over, and she told me about that one girl (who obviously was all over me for everyone to see) that I should, if such is the case (also for other girls), distract from my person and involve her into some games or stuff. but anywayz in association to that she was saying "You are a handsome young man so the girls can have real crushes on you!". And there was this other kindergarten teacher who was talking to some mother about some of the kids being 'in love' with each other. we all know these facts of course and yes there are nons who get it, too. but it felt good to have it heard from kindergarten teachers who know about children.

2. HELL YEA GIRLS ARE SEXUAL

Since i'm a risky person regarding child love i was really planning that something should happen. but even though.. in the beginning when i was only getting to know the girls a little and didn't really try to make ANYTHING happen there were so many girls who just OBVIOUSLY had crushes on me. and also they were becoming sexual. and one of my friends who i'm out to said that they probably know those things from other people and TV and they are curious and want to try them out. so.. i payed attention to that but i could observe behaviors that suggest that the girl does not know this from anywhere (besides the things that they do know from TV). so.. and the way the girls liked me and actually tried to involve me in sexual stuff that surprised even me. and i decided to do nothing and let

them approach me. and still there were so many girls who tried to become a 'closer' friend of mine in that kind of sense that in the beginning i didn't even know what to do and which girl should be my princess. so there was that one girl that was in a way a mean person so i didn't want to hook up with her at all and we were sitting on a coach and she tried to open my belt saying she wants to take off my clothes. so i said to her that i don't want that. and she said that she don't care which really concerned me alot. however, it proves that it wasn't me who got her into doing something (except for me being a person she likes [at least sexually]). and there was one point at that one girl of the ones who liked me said she wants to open my pants and see my penis. so i said to her that if i let that happen i would go to jail. and she looked at me puzzled. so anywayz it turned out just *how* sexual girls at the age of 5 and 6 are. even some of the 4yos. i'm not sure anymore who's more sexual a 6yo girl or a 16yo girl although i used to believe that it's the 16yo.

3. ADULTS' BEST WEAPON

I don't think any of the adults knew what was going on with me. though a few were looking at me in a strange way. but however they totally figured out what was going on with some of the girls. and it was sometimes that i could observe the way they talk to them (either one of the kindergarten teachers or one of the parents). it seems like embarassment is the best weapon they have (much more effective than threatening or punishment). when a girl has a crush on an adult they make it seem pathetic that the girl has a crush. sometimes they say things like "you don't NEED this". 'this' meaning love. and they put it in a way like one would tell a person that can walk "you don't NEED the crutch". just like love is a 'crutch' that only handicapped people need! and realizing that.. i think what we can do, and which is our duty, is proving, to the girl, the fact that there's nothing wrong with love and that it's something for everybody *and that she does NOT have to feel ashamed*. not only for one to be able to hook up with a girl that really likes him but who would otherwise turn away from him for the sake of embarassment.. also because they have a right to know the truth.

4. GIRLS DON'T GO FOR GIFTS

At the end of the time there i bought surprise eggs, one for each child as my way to say good bye. i remembered someone on the forum saying that it can get me into even more legal trouble to give a present to a girl if later i would hook up with her but i decided to do it anyways. so i gave them to

the kids three hours before they all would go home (on the last day i was working there) but what happened, contrary to what people say, the girls didn't like me more then. and they were NOT becoming more sexual. during my work there i could see that children have very clear ideas what a person has to be like in order to be able to be a friend to them. and that was things that have to do with character. but there was not even one child that liked me more because i gave that present. of course you couldn't fool them with it even if you wanted to because girls, unlike so many women, care about real love and not about material, money, cars.. so i always rejected that argument anyways but here's the prove. then again a gift can be very special for a child. but it doesn't need to be of great material value at all. if you pick a stone out of the pebble that looks special and give it to the child and you mean it, the child usually gets the message. and that's exactly the way children make presents. some of the girls would draw a picture and give it to me and it was just amazing how much there's behind it. it's like.. art! but no.. i don't think one could make such a kind of present and maybe even act like he's a great guy and at the same time really he's a jerk and still hooks up with a girl.

5. GIRLS PLAYING WITH THEIR VAGINAS

I'm not to 100% sure, maybe 70%, since i was only working there for almost two months.. but i think if i had worked there for a couple of months longer it had been observed that there is a connection between feelings of love and playing with the vagina. because even the ones who had a crush on me in terms of love (there were a few who i'm not sure if the only thing they wanted is solely sexual experience [or at least in that moment]) seemed to be much likelier to play with their vaginas in times when they seemed to be thinking of me a lot. it's not that i ever doubted that children do see a connection between liking somebody and touching such a person. otherwise they wouldn't tend to kiss and hug their parents. and yes it's the same for having crushes, or falling in love, and sex. but just in terms of 'evidence', if you will, it would be interesting to hear someone's opinion who has worked in the field for a longer period.

Some of you now probably wonder if i did hook up then. but no i didn't. there was one really nice, very intelligent girl that i had a crush on and that i thought might be the one for me. and she totally had a crush back on me. but there was one kindergarten teacher who was very aware and concerned

of the girls falling in love with me. and she was talking to the girl once when she was again trying to tickle my penis. since that moment the girl almost completely stopped being romantic to me. she still had a crush on me but obviously suppressed it. she never told me what exactly it was that the kindergarten teacher said to her but it appeared to be something scary. so before i could figure out what to do my time there was over. :(maybe i meet her in town some day.

Jerry-Lee



Follow ups:

- Re: My Time At The Kindergarten - **Love2uall** Saturday, September 2 2006 at 09:41:04pm (0)
- Uh... I think this violates FAQ - **Todd** Saturday, September 2 2006 at 07:10:57pm (9)
 - Why aren't you still a mod, Markaba? - **I*Love*Green*Olives** Saturday, September 2 2006 at 07:33:06pm (8)
 - I do believe,... - **Demosthenes** Saturday, September 2 2006 at 08:52:38pm (0)
 - Re: Why aren't you still a mod, Markaba? - **nihil_aeternius** Saturday, September 2 2006 at 08:23:11pm (5)

<http://www.snnshalleich.net/messages/2006...>

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Eichenwald. And, Dr. Hernandez, you are recognized for 5 minutes for your opening statement.

DR. HERNANDEZ. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you to discuss a variety of issues regarding the sexual exploitation of children over the Internet as it pertains to the Bureau of Prisons. The BOP made a commitment to the psychological treatment of sexual offenders in 1990

when the population of sex offenders in the Bureau of Prisons represented less than 1 percent of all Federal inmates. Since that time, the proportion of sex offenders has more than doubled. Today, the population of sex offenders in the BOP is well over 12,000. This figure includes those serving a term of confinement due to a sexual offense and those with a prior history of sexual offending. A significant number of sex offenders in Federal custody are convicted of Internet-related sexual offenses.

The Sex Offender Treatment Program or SOTP was established in 1990 at the Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, North Carolina, but it was substantially revised and reorganized in 1997. It is a 112-bed voluntary residential therapeutic program that employs cognitive-behavioral and relapse prevention techniques to treat and manage male sexual offenders. The primary goal of the SOTP is to help offenders manage their sexual deviance in an effort to reduce sexual recidivism. The treatment program encourages its participants to change their criminal lifestyle and to become honest, responsible, and law-abiding citizens with effective self-control skills.

Since its inception, the SOTP has treated several hundred child pornography offenders. The vast majority of sex offenders in the SOTP are individuals convicted of possession, receipt, distribution, and transportation of child pornography. The most common medium of receipt and distribution among inmates in the SOTP is the Internet. Over the course of my 10 years of clinical work with federally-convicted sex offenders in the SOTP, I have observed that in the course of treatment many child pornography offenders admit to unreported sexual crimes, many of which include multiple sexual contacts with the victims. I believed it was important to record this information and share it with the treatment professionals and researchers in this area of practice in order to spark the interest of the scientific and treatment communities to study this emerging population of sex offenders.

In November 2000, I presented a poster at the annual conference of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers in San Diego. This poster summarized archival data from 90 inmates who had been treated in the SOTP. Of that group, 62 were convicted of Internet-related sexual offenses. These included the possession and distribution of child pornography, as well as the interstate travel with the intent to sexually abuse a minor. At the time of sentencing, the group of 62 Internet sex offenders were known to have committed contact sexual offenses against a total of 55 victims.

Following treatment, the same group disclosed committing contact sexual crimes against an additional 1,379 victims. In a subsequent analysis, I removed the offenders convicted of interstate travel with the

intent to sexually abuse a minor from the group of 62 offenders. This yielded 55 child pornography offenders. The rate of contact sexual offenses recorded after treatment among this group was 80 percent. The dramatic increase of previously unreported sexual offenses among the 62 offenders I treated was interesting and worthy of continued observation and study. As a result, I have continued to record the incidence of self-reported contact sexual criminality among Internet sex offenders in the SOTP. The patterns I have observed more recently are consistent with those reported in the 2000 poster.

I must stress, however, that the population of inmates in the SOTP is not representative of the entire population of sex offenders in the BOP. While the 2000 and 2006 analyses reveal similar patterns, they represent heuristic observations and the basis for hypothesis testing which must be followed by rigorous scientific studies. I am hopeful that the Bureau of Prisons and other researchers will be in a position in the future to provide you with a sound scientific basis for policy making regarding Internet sex offenders.

The state of knowledge with respect to Internet child pornography offenders is in its infancy. My observations of the offenders described above who participated in the SOTP indicate that these Internet child pornography offenders are far more dangerous to society than we previously thought. But I caution the law enforcement community and others against generalizing beyond the offenders who were the subjects of my treatment interviews. I urge the professional and scientific community to attend to this understudied group of offenders. Chairman Whitfield, this concludes my formal statement. I would be pleased to answer any questions you or other members of the subcommittee may have.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Hernandez follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ANDRES HERNANDEZ, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF PRISONS' SEX
OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM, FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
JUSTICE

Good Morning Chairman Whitfield and Members of the Subcommittee. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss a variety of issues regarding the sexual exploitation of children over the Internet as it pertains to the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP). I serve as the Director of the Sex Offender Treatment Program in Butner, North Carolina. I have held this position since 1997. Prior to my employment with the Bureau of Prisons, I worked as an Assistant Professor for the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at Baylor College of Medicine, where I also completed an internship and post-doctoral fellowship specializing in the evaluation and treatment of sex offenders. I have worked in the field of sex offender treatment since 1992.

The BOP made a commitment to the psychological treatment of sex offenders in 1990, when the population of sex offenders in the Bureau of Prisons represented less than 1% of all federal inmates. Since that time, the proportion of sex offenders has more than

doubled. Today, the population of sex offenders in the BOP is over 12,000. This figure includes those serving a term of confinement due to a sex offense and those with a prior history of sexual offending. A significant number of sex offenders in federal custody are convicted of Internet-related sexual offenses.

As the federal sex offender population has increased, the BOP expanded the treatment capacity somewhat. Today, the Sex Offender Treatment Program (SOTP) has 112 beds at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) in Butner, North Carolina. The Sex Offender Management Program (SOMP), established in 2003 at the Federal Medical Center in Devens, Massachusetts, serves nearly 400 sex offenders by providing risk assessment and management services. Consistent with recently enacted legislation, the BOP is actively working to expand sex offender services by implementing additional SOMP and SOTP, as well as a forensic evaluation service.

Overview of the Sex Offender Treatment Program at FCI Butner, NC

The Sex Offender Treatment Program was established in 1990 at FCI Butner, North Carolina, but it was substantially revised and reorganized in 1997. It is a voluntary, residential therapeutic program that employs cognitive-behavioral and relapse prevention techniques to treat and manage male sexual offenders. The primary goal of the SOTP is to help offenders manage their sexual deviance in an effort to reduce sexual recidivism. The treatment program encourages its participants to change their criminal lifestyle and become honest, responsible, and law-abiding citizens with effective self-control skills. Inmates in the program are assigned to approximately 15 hours of treatment activities per week. They are encouraged to participate in activities and programs that promote personal growth and development outside of the SOTP such as education and vocational training. The SOTP is divided into seven phases. Phase I orients the inmate to the SOTP, introduces him to treatment concepts, and begins the process of psychosexual evaluation, which includes phallometric assessment (i.e., penile plethysmography) and polygraph examination. Phase II involves treatment planning, assignment to therapy groups, and psychoeducational programming. In Phase II through VI, the inmate participates in group therapy and psychoeducation focusing on 1) Victim Impact Awareness, 2) Criminal Thinking and Cognitive Distortions, 3) Communication Skills and Conflict Resolution, 4) Emotional Self-Regulation, 5) Management of Deviant Sexual Arousal, 6) Relationship and Intimacy Skills, 7) Victim Empathy Enhancement, and 8) Relapse Prevention. Phase VII involves Community Reintegration and Release planning.

Overview of the population of sex offenders in the SOTP

The population of inmates in the SOTP is not representative of the entire population of sex offenders in the BOP. It represents a unique group of offenders with the following general characteristics: 1) they have volunteered to participate in treatment and accept some degree of responsibility for their crimes; 2) speak English; 3) are not severely mentally ill; 4) do not have detainers or pending charges that would affect their release to the community; and 5) do not have a history of negative institutional adjustment. The vast majority of the inmates in the SOTP are highly educated, and have marketable job skills. These characteristics, and their willingness to volunteer for treatment are not typical of all sex offenders in the BOP.

Since its inception in 1990, the SOTP has treated several hundred child pornography offenders. The vast majority of sex offenders in the SOTP are individuals convicted of Possession, Receipt, Distribution, and Transportation of Child Pornography. The most common medium of receipt and distribution among inmates in the SOTP is the Internet.

Over the course of my ten years of clinical work with federally convicted sex offenders in the SOTP, I have observed that in the course of treatment many child pornography offenders admit to unreported sexual crimes, many of which include multiple sexual contacts with the victims. I believed it was important to record this

information and share it with treatment professionals as well as researchers in this area of practice, to spark the interest of the scientific and treatment communities to study this emerging population of sex offenders.

The ATSA Poster Presentation

In November 2000, I presented a poster at the annual conference of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA) in San Diego, California, entitled "Self-Reported Contact Sexual Offenses by Participants in the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Sex Offender Treatment Program: Implications for Internet Sex Offenders." This poster summarized archival data from 90 inmates who had been treated in the SOTP. Of that group, 62 were convicted of Internet-related sexual offenses. These included the possession and distribution of child pornography, as well as interstate travel with the intent to sexually abuse a minor (*i.e.*, "travelers"). At the time of sentencing, the group of 62 Internet sex offenders were known to have committed contact sexual offenses against a total of 55 victims. Following treatment, the same group disclosed committing contact sexual crimes against an additional 1,379 victims. Only 42 percent of the offenders were known to be contact sexual criminals at the time of sentencing; following treatment, 76 percent reported contact sexual crimes, an increase of 34%. In a subsequent analysis, I removed the "traveler" offenders from the group of 62 subjects. This yielded 55 child pornography offenders. The rate of contact sexual offending recorded after treatment among this group was 80 percent.

The dramatic increase of previously unreported sexual offenses among the 62 offenders I treated was interesting and worthy of continued observation and study. As a result, I have continued to record the incidence of self-reported contact sexual criminality among Internet sex offenders in the SOTP. The patterns I have observed more recently are consistent with those reported in the 2000 poster.

Recently I have reviewed and summarized my observations regarding a second group of offenders who participated in the SOTP. The group consisted of 155 men who were convicted of Internet child pornography possession and/or distribution. Again, I compared the number of contact sexual offenses that were known to the criminal justice system upon sentencing with those reported over the course of treatment in the SOTP. At the time of sentencing, 115 (74%) subjects had no documented hands-on victims. Forty (26%) had known histories of abusing a child via a hands-on sexual act. The number of victims known at the time of sentencing by the 155 subjects was 75. Following treatment, the inmates disclosed perpetrating contact sexual crimes against another 1,702 victims. Eighty-five percent of the inmates were in fact contact sexual offenders, compared to only 26 percent known at the time of sentencing. Thus, both groups of Internet child pornography offenders treated in the SOTP included a significant proportion (*i.e.*, 80% to 85%) of offenders who perpetrated contact sexual crimes. These findings are consistent with my clinical experience treating Internet sex offenders for the past ten years.

While the 2000 and 2006 analyses reveal similar patterns, they represent heuristic observations and the basis for hypothesis testing which must be followed by rigorous scientific studies. I am hopeful that Bureau of Prisons and other researchers will be in a position in the future to provide you with a sound scientific basis for making policy decisions regarding internet sex offenders.

While the relationship between contact sexual criminality and Internet child pornography offenders is an important area of scientific inquiry, there are many other questions that remain unanswered. Among these are: 1) what are the protective factors that keep some Internet child pornography offenders from perpetrating contact sexual crimes; 2) what are the psychological, social, technological and other factors that facilitate sexual offending among Internet offenders; 3) are there different types of child pornography offenders; and 4) does Internet child pornography create sexual deviance among the viewers or consumers. These and many other questions need to be the focus of

discussion, debate, and research among the scientific, professional, and law enforcement community.

Effectiveness of sex offender treatment

With respect to treatment outcome, the BOP has been studying the effectiveness of the SOTP. The results of this research are not available at this time. This is a long-term endeavor that will take several years to complete. However, while the effectiveness of the SOTP at FCI Butner remains to be proven, there is a growing body of scientific literature suggesting that treatment is effective in reducing the risk of recidivism. It appears that cognitive-behavioral and psychopharmacological treatments have the strongest effect. The SOTP employs these methodologies.

Closing

The state of knowledge with respect to Internet child pornography offenders is in its infancy. My observations of the 217 offenders described above who participated in the SOTP indicate that these Internet child pornographers are far more dangerous to society than we previously thought. But, I caution the law enforcement community and others against generalizing beyond the offenders who were the subjects of my treatment interviews. I urge the professional and scientific community to attend to this understudied group of offenders.

Chairman Whitfield, this concludes my formal statement. I would be pleased to answer any questions you or other Members of the Subcommittee may have.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you, Dr. Hernandez. We appreciate your testimony. At this time, I would like to recognize Dr. Anna Carol Salter for her 5-minute opening statement, and we appreciate her being with us this morning.

DR. SALTER. I am very happy to be here. I am a psychologist in Madison, Wisconsin, and I have assessed and treated sex offenders since the mid-80s for over 20 years. I was asked to introduce myself briefly. I have written three academic books on sex offenders, *Treating Child Sex Offenders and Victims: A Practical Guide*, in 1988. I also wrote *Transforming Trauma, Understanding and Treating Adult Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse* in 1995. In 2003 I wrote *Predators: Pedophiles, Rapists, and Other Sex Offenders: Who They Are, How They Operate, and How We Can Protect Ourselves and Our Children*. Currently, I work half time for the Department of Corrections in Wisconsin. I also do civil commitment evaluations for sex offenders in the State of Iowa and sometimes other States. I have done trainings for mental health professionals, judges, clinicians, prison staff, et cetera. I have trained in 46 States and 10 countries.

Now for my testimony today, I decided to submit a video of a sex offender describing the grooming techniques that he uses to ingratiate himself with victims and to fool their parents. I did that because it is my belief that my committee has probably heard from many more professionals than they have from offenders, and the offenders are really the experts on how they get access to children. No one speaks more

powerfully than they do. The interview that I conducted was done in a State prison. Permissions were obtained from the prison officials to approach the offenders. The offenders were asked if they wanted to participate. They were told that the film would not be used to help them and it would not be used to hurt them either, and that they would be anonymous in the sense that I wouldn't release information about their identities.

With those simple protections in place really the only thing I promised is that I wouldn't give out information about their identities, it was amazing how many offenders wanted to talk about how they accessed children. I am sure that the committee saw the sparkle in Joe's eyes when he talked about it. There is a great deal of joy in many offenders. There is also a great deal of duke and delight. I think that the offender that you saw fooling the parents was probably more exciting than actually molesting the children. I think if you did see the video, you also saw how sophisticated the grooming techniques can be, and you can tell just from watching this man how well he could present if he chose to.

You might be interested in what happened after the film was made. He was released from prison. He relocated to a city in the State he was in, and one day he walked into a church and said to the minister, Father, do you take ex-cons? This was after the service. The minister said, well, if they are truly repentant, we do. And Joe said, oh, I am, Father, I am. I was in prison for passing a cold check, which was a lie. He was in prison for child molestation. And while I was there I found Jesus. I was dyed in the blood of the lamb, and I had hymns that I dearly loved, and I knew what whatever church was playing that hymn on Sunday morning, that was a sign from God that that was the church for me, and, Father, you were playing that hymn.

So the minister took him in and he very quickly took over the children's choir. He was a professional musician. In any case, eventually the authorities caught up with him. He had offered for the minister to call the prison and he had given him the name of the prison, but because he offered the minister hadn't done so thinking he must be legitimate. Sooner or later a parent wondered why there was a felon running the children's choir and asked what they knew about him, and then they did call the prison. When they caught up with him, it turned out he was operating in two churches at the same time. And the second minister said we thought he was legitimate. You see, he had this hymn that he dearly loved and we were playing that hymn on Sunday morning.

In talking about Joe and in showing that film, however, I don't mean to imply that all sex offenders can't be treated. I don't think treatment, frankly, is going to do much good for Joe and it hasn't in the past. But the reality is that a recent meta-analysis showed that we can get about a

40 percent reduction in re-offending through treatment. Forty percent isn't ideal, but it is a tremendous boom to victims. It means a lot fewer victims out there. The only group that we can't seem to get a reduction with are psychopath offenders who don't have a conscience.

I will also say to you that I am not optimistic about educational programs for parents. I find that the average person cannot distinguish between likeability and trustworthiness and some of these offenders are extremely, extremely likeable. I simply find that likeability will override even a criminal record of child molestation any day of the week. And that is really all I have for my opening statement.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Salter follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ANNA CAROL SALTER, PSYCHOLOGIST

My name is Anna Salter and I am a psychologist specializing in the area of sex offender assessment and treatment. I received my Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology and Public Practice from Harvard in 1978, and I have worked in the field of sex offender assessment and treatment for approximately 20 years.

I have written three academic books on sex offenders and their victims: Treating Child Sex Offenders: A Practical Guide (1988), Transforming Trauma: A Guide to Understanding and Treating Adult Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse (1995), and Predators: Pedophiles, Rapists and Other Sex Offenders. Who They Are, How They Operate and How We Can Protect Ourselves and Our Children (2003). In addition, I have produced two video-tapes: Truth, Lies and Sex Offenders and Sadistic and Nonsadistic Sex Offenders: How They Think, What They Do. Both have been widely used to train professionals. Finally, I also write mysteries, designed not only to entertain but to provide a more accurate picture of both sex offenders and victims for the general public. My latest mystery, Prison Blues, was nominated for an Edgar Allen Poe award.

Currently, I work half time for the Wisconsin Department of Corrections. I also do sexual predator exams for civil commitment of sex offenders in Iowa and

sometimes other states. I testify in legal cases involving sex offenders, and I train throughout the country and abroad. I have trained clinicians, police, judges, correctional staff, probation and parole agents, mental health professionals, child protection workers and others in forty-six states and ten countries. In 1997 I won the Significant Achievement Award from the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers. This is given to one person in the field each year, either in this country or abroad.

For my testimony today, I elected to show a brief excerpt of an interview with a sex offender describing the process he goes through when he decides to molest a child. This process includes methods of seducing the child and ways of fooling his parents. It was my belief that the committee has no doubt had a great deal of testimony from professionals, but likely far less contact with the offenders themselves. No one speaks as powerfully about the process of child seduction and parental deception as the offenders do.

This interview was done in a state prison. Permission was obtained from the prison officials at that site to approach the offenders and ask if they would be willing to be interviewed on camera for a training film. "Joe"¹ gave his permission and signed a written consent form. It specified that I may use the film for educational purposes, but he did not give his permission for me to use the film on TV therefore I requested that it not be filmed today. It also specified that he would be anonymous on film, and that I would not release information about his identity or whereabouts.

¹ This is a pseudonym.

In this video, Joe describes sophisticated for techniques for gaining the child's trust and for keeping the parents suspicion down. In other parts of the interview, which I am not showing for brevity's sake, he admits that he had as many as a hundred boy victims. Most of the parents of these children were so convinced that he was a good person, and certainly not a child molester, that when he was arrested they supported him. Many would not let their own children be interviewed by police and some continued to write him in prison.

After this film was completed Joe was released from prison and relocated to a city in the same state. He approached a minister after service in a church one Sunday, asking him if his church took ex-cons. The minister replied that they did, so long as the ex-con was truly repentant. Joe replied that he was, that he had been imprisoned for passing a "cold check." Of course, Joe had actually been imprisoned for child molestation. He also told the minister that he had discovered Christ while in prison and that he read the bible every day. There was a hymn that he dearly loved, he said, and he knew that whatever church was playing that hymn, that was a sign from God that that was the church for him. The minister's church, he went on, had been playing the same hymn when he had walked by that morning. He offered for the minister to call the prison to check on him, and gave him the correct name of the prison, but the minister did not do so. He felt, apparently, that Joe's offering it meant that what he said was true.

Over time Joe – who was a professional musician – took over the children's choir at the church. At this point some parents questioned having a

felon running the children's choir. In response, the minister inquired at the prison. When authorities caught up with Joe for violation of parole – he was not supposed to have any contact with children – they found he had run the same scam on two different churches and was operating in both at the same time. Both scams included the line that the church was playing his favorite hymn when he walked by. I use this example simply to highlight the cleverness of some offenders and their ability to plan.

By my use of the example of Joe and by my testimony in general, however, I do not mean to say that sex offender treatment is always ineffective. On the contrary, a large scale meta-analysis by Smith (2002) and others have shown beyond a doubt that for criminal offenders in general, treatment is the only thing that does work. Incarceration alone at best does not reduce recidivism and, at worse, actually increases it. Longer sentences almost surely increase recidivism, compared to shorter ones. By contrast, every meta-analysis that has ever been done, to my knowledge, has found a positive effect for treatment in reducing recidivism.

Regarding sex offender treatment specifically, a meta-analysis by Hanson (2002) of forty-two studies found that sex offender treatment reduced recidivism by about forty percent. While not perfect and a long way from it, treatment that can reduce sexual offense recidivism by forty percent will make an enormous difference to victims.

However, Joe is one of those unlikely to benefit from treatment. For those who do not benefit, and who continue to offend, I have little faith that educating

the public will be sufficient. When Joe turns on the charm, he is a likeable guy. The average person does not distinguish between likeability and trustworthiness. They believe that anyone who is "nice," who appears to be caring, and whom they like, cannot be a sex offender. "Niceness is a decision," Gavin de Becker wrote, "not a character trait" (De Becker 1997). But most people simply do not believe this. The average person believes that public behavior is an indicator of private behavior and so it is for most people, but not for the Joe's of this world.

In all my interviews with offenders in prison, I have rarely met any offender who got caught for everything he did, but even more chilling, virtually all had victims along the way who had reported him to their parents. The typical parental response was to tell the child that "Joe loves you. Joe wouldn't do anything like that. There must be some mistake," and the report rarely went further. In Joe's case, both of these things happened. He had far more victims than he had been caught for, and children had occasionally reported him along the way, only to find that their parents did not believe them.

The world of online predators is even more pernicious. Parents never meet the online predators, and therefore the offender only has to deal with the child's judgment. Too, the problem of finding and meeting children is solved. Through the internet, offenders can approach hundreds of children, widely separated geographically. Then too they can spend as much time with them as the child permits, without raising parental suspicion.

A study conducted by the Crimes Against Children Research Center at the University of New Hampshire found that twenty percent of adolescent users of

the Internet, ages ten to seventeen had received a sexual solicitation in the preceding year, and in a little over three percent of the cases, an offender had tried to contact them directly, i.e., outside the Internet (Finkelhor, Mitchell et al. 2001). Of course, these figures are an under-estimation of the problem, given that not all teenagers will admit to having been approached sexually on the Internet fearing that admitting it will lead to the loss of access.

But what makes these figures doubly chilling is the fact that a different study by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that eight to thirteen-year-olds – the heaviest users of the Internet – spent approximately an hour a day on the Internet. Of that hour, roughly eleven minutes were spent in chat rooms. Eleven minutes and twenty percent of kids are getting approached sexually.

I have attached a book chapter of mine on child molesters from *Predators*, and I would be happy to answer questions.

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PREDATORS

Pedophiles, Rapists, and
Other Sex Offenders

*Who They Are,
How They Operate,
and How We Can Protect
Ourselves and Our Children*

ANNA C. SALTER, PH.D.



A Member of the Perseus Books Group

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Child Molesters

Mention "child molesters" to the average audience, or even to most professional audiences, and they will immediately suggest "Colt .45 therapy" or castration. Once a cab driver in Dallas gave me his opinion: execution for a first offense.

It is a strangely comfortable answer for those who give it, and it absolves them of the harder work of thinking of something we might actually do in this country. The strangest part of this answer is that those who see child molesters as monsters seem the quickest—when their neighbor, friend, or family member is accused—to say that it is definitely a false report. After all, child molesters are perverts, creeps, and monsters, and their nice neighbor/minister/father/uncle/friend/priest is not a monster. Ergo, he is not a child molester.

Once this kind of denial locks in, no amount of evidence will change their minds. A cab driver said to a colleague of mine, "Child molestation! I know all about child molestation. My father was accused of child molestation, and the children lied—all twenty-six of them."

Even a confession by the offender will be dismissed. A long-term molester of boys tried to tell his own minister he was offending. "Someone said I was a child molester," he began tentatively.

"Well, that's the stupidest thing I've ever heard of," the minister said quickly. "You're the last person I'd believe that of." End of conversation.

But it is a misconception that child molesters are somehow different from the rest of us, outside their proclivities to molest. They can be loyal friends, good employees, and responsible members of the community in other ways. The psychiatrist Fred Berlin has noted:

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People often confuse issues of traits of character with issues of sexual orientation or the type of sexual interest an individual has. People who may be compulsive pedophiles, for instance, may obey the law in other ways, may be responsible in their work, may have concern for other persons.¹

What is different about child molesters is only this: They have sex with children. They molest them for a variety of reasons that may leave no telltale signs in their public behavior. The priest who works tirelessly for the parish may be a nice man in his everyday dealings with people, but that has nothing to do with whether he is or isn't privately a child molester.

Even angry child rapists (a minority of child molesters, to be sure) may behave normally in public. They may have a girlfriend or wife, may be well liked. No one may see the grinding anger that drives them except their victims. The child rapist below is a six-foot-tall Marlboro man with a crooked smile and a soft crinkle to his eyes. He is good-looking, and, more than that, he looks like a kind man. Not surprisingly, he has a long history of girlfriends. Indeed, with his looks and his soft and reasonable manner, he has had no difficulty attracting women. He tells me that:

First victim, I was staying with a guy. . . . His daughter had come to live with them, and I was living with them at that time. And I was angry. She had done a lot of things, like I'll just give you an example. The very first time I had a Zippo lighter, and I'd get it hot and just play with it. . . . She came in one day, and she was playing with it and got it hot, and I was laying on the couch and I was asleep. She brought it over to me and put it on my forehead and burned my forehead, which made me very angry. I didn't say much to her then. But that afternoon, or that night, when her mother was at work, I raped her that night. Which it was anal at the time. And it went on for quite some time before I, I called it an accident because she wasn't able to endure intercourse. . . . And it ripped her.

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In fact, he told me the child was injured that offense and fense. In between but for which he

People, in general. And that's just of you they're bad of you they. In the business. Children all the time couldn't get caught.

It was perhaps. Children all the time. Were probably few. Still, despite everything from vagina to anus with him. I do not have picked him out. But even if you and the intimidation used it right in front of handled disclosure.

Basically if you're especially if the victim is anywhere or him, whichever you make them. If they're around.

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In fact, he tore her anus through to her vagina, and the eight-year-old child was injured so badly she was hospitalized. He was incarcerated for that offense and later served a second incarceration for a separate offense. In between there were numerous offenses he was reported for but for which he was never charged. He shrugs and tells me:

People, in general, they're going to think what they want to think. And that's just basically all there is to it. If they want to think bad of you they're going to think bad of you. If they hear something bad of you they're going to believe it, and if they don't, they don't. In the business I was in, you know, this guy works around children all the time. If he was molesting children, there's no way you couldn't get caught.

It was perhaps an exaggeration for him to say he worked around children all the time. He was night manager at a grocery store, and there were probably fewer children in the store at night than during the day. Still, despite enough anger and callousness to rip an eight-year-old from vagina to anus, he appeared perfectly normal to those who worked with him. I do not believe anyone in the world, including myself, could have picked him out as a child molester.

But even if you and I couldn't see it in casual conversation, the anger and the intimidation were there—in his case, only for children. And he used it right in front of us and got away with it. He tells me how he handled disclosures by the children:

Basically if you stay calm and look whoever it is in the eye, and especially if the mother of the victim or the victim is there, if the victim is anywhere that you can look at her and make her nervous or him, whichever one it might be, then the more nervous that you make them, the more it makes them seem like they're lying. If they're around. Most of the time they're not.

Q. How do you make them nervous?

A. By staring at them. You know, it's like, I'm going to get you. I'm just, it's just basically, you know, just that kind of look. Like

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you've had it. To a child that's, you traumatize them just by looking at them.

Court is just another opportunity for intimidation in his view.

If we went to the court and we both had been in the courtroom at the same time, then I could have made her nervous enough to make her lie or make her stumble to make people think she was lying. . . . It's really just a simple look to a child is traumatizing. If you believe it or not, it really is. Especially if the adult is molesting the child.

He does not have to convince me that offenders will try to intimidate witnesses in court. I was on the witness stand once against a man who had raped and murdered a nine-year-old neighbor child who came to his door on Halloween night. He was scheduled for release, and I was testifying that he was still dangerous and should be civilly committed, a case that was lost. I'm not sure it would have been lost had the jury been looking at him rather than me. He glared at me throughout my testimony as though he would take my throat out with a spoon. A part of me wanted to interrupt my testimony and just point to his sullen, rage-filled face.

I could not do so, of course, and unfortunately almost everybody in the courtroom was looking at me. The spectators had no choice: They were sitting, as usual, behind the defendant. There was, however, a single correctional administrator who was sitting far enough on the side to see the defendant, and she was looking at him while I spoke. She was so taken aback by his obvious hostility and his attempt to intimidate me that she came to talk to me about it afterward.

If it was sobering for me to testify with a predator glaring at me, imagine what it is like for a child. It is easier than you think for offenders to intimidate witnesses in open court and get away with it. Now you see it; now you don't. Child molesters, angry rapists, predators of all sorts only show the face they want you to see, when they want you to see it. And sometimes, they give you the message they want you to have, even though no one around you sees a thing.

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Child Molesters

Making Sense of Child Molestation:
Blind Allies and Hidden Bias

Why do men—and some women—molest children? It makes no sense to the rest of us. Our collective difficulty in believing someone we know would molest a child is partly because of our difficulty in understanding why anybody would do such a thing. Most adults are simply not sexually attracted to children. When an adult is in an amorous mood, a child is a nuisance at best. "What would a child have to do to be sexually attractive to you?" an instructor asked a class rhetorically.

"Grow up," one man replied.

Most of us feel that way. Sex with children strikes us as deeply reprehensible and utterly unappealing. If that's how most people feel, why do child molesters risk jail for something the rest of us wouldn't do if it were legal?

In the past one hundred years, psychology has twisted itself into pretzels developing theories to answer this question. Few of these theories have any research at all behind them, and many of them are little more than excuses and rationalizations for child molestation. I am not talking now about Freud's failure to accept the victim accounts given by his patients and his turning them into "Oedipal fantasies" to avoid ostracism by his peers. That has been too well documented to deserve further comment.² Nor am I talking about cases where memory of abuse was lost and then recovered, although there is considerable evidence that this can occur.³

What is actually more perplexing in the history of psychology is the attitude toward cases in which it was known and acknowledged that the abuse took place. In the early part of the century, psychoanalytic writers maintained steadfastly that sexual abuse was the fault of the child, not the adult, that it occurred because aggressive children "seduced" innocent men. Dr. Karl Abraham, for example, wrote an article entitled "The Experiencing of Sexual Traumas as a Form of Sexual Activity" in which he declared that "in a great number of cases the trauma was desired by the child unconsciously, and we have to recognize it as a form of infantile sexual activity."⁴ His reasoning was that "in all of them the trauma

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could have been prevented. The children could have called for help, run away or offered resistance instead of yielding to the seduction."⁵

It is bewildering, of course, that Abraham would not recognize the existence of psychological coercion or just plain submission to adult authority, but after all, it was 1907. It is more puzzling that he would not apply the same logic to the offender who, after all, could have called for help, run away, or offered resistance. Yet Abraham did not call his article "The Inflicting of Sexual Traumas as a Form of Sexual Activity."

What is truly astonishing, however, is his response to a case of violent assault in which the child did call for help, run away, and offer resistance. In fact, she resisted so much she escaped. It was the case of a nine-year-old girl who was enticed into the woods by a neighbor who Abraham admits "attempted to rape her."⁶ The child fought off her attacker. Rather than admit that responsibility for this attack rested solely with the attacker, Abraham states that the child

Had allowed herself to be seduced. She had followed the neighbor into the woods and allowed him to go a long way in carrying out his purpose before she freed herself from him and ran off. It is not to be wondered that this child kept the occurrence secret.⁷

It is most surprising that Abraham could ignore the difference in strength between a nine-year-old girl and an adult male. In his view, no matter what the circumstances, all sexual assaults on children occur because children have "an abnormal desire for obtaining sexual pleasure and, in consequence of this, undergo sexual traumas."⁸ Women assault victims fared no better in his hands. They were labeled "hysterics" and were described as

Those interesting people to whom something is always happening. Female hysterics in particular are constantly meeting with adventures. They are molested in the public street, outrageous sexual assaults are made on them, etc. It is part of their nature that they must expose themselves to external traumatic influences. There is a need in them to appear to be constantly exposed to vi-

olence. In this we recognize of women in an exaggerated

If Abraham's views were a historical oddity. On the other hand, the psychoanalytic community of the twentieth century in psychology that held that their own victimization.¹⁰

The psychiatrist Lauretta Stetson, from a different point of view and wrote in 1911 that the child's satisfaction from the relief of the cloak of innocence with its social reforms and legislation that the children were asked the reader to consider rather than the one seduced.

The concept of "participation" was developed.¹⁴ In many of these cases, the child who knew the offender prior to the assault was more than once. However, this is not the case in Gagnon characterized 12 per cent of total strangers as "collaborators."

Incest victims seem particularly vulnerable. Dr. Irving Weiner wrote that the part of the daughters in incest cases are helpless victims of their father's relationship, if not... active initiators.

Of course, many victims of incest avoid such reports by saying that their daughters avoid guilt for their sexual experience.¹⁷ It is not surprising to convince Weiner of their innocence whether victims endured it or not, nonetheless deemed to have

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of women in an exaggerated form.⁹

If Abraham's views were not echoed elsewhere, he would be simply
a historical oddity. On the contrary, his views were widely shared within
the psychoanalytic community. For more than fifty years, from the first
quarter of the twentieth century onward, there was a significant school
in psychology that held that sexual assault victims were responsible for
their own victimization.¹⁰

The psychiatrist Lauretta Bender was a strong supporter of this
point of view and wrote in 1937 that such children derive "fundamen-
tal satisfaction from the relationship" and "do not completely deserve
the cloak of innocence with which they have been endowed by moral-
ists, social reformers and legislators."¹¹ As proof, she offered her obser-
vation that the children were "unusually charming and attractive"¹² and
asked the reader to consider that the child was "the actual seducer
rather than the one seduced."¹³

The concept of "participating" or "collaborative" victim was devel-
oped.¹⁴ In many of these writings, a participating victim was anyone
who knew the offender prior to the attack and/or was assaulted more
than once. However, this rule wasn't ironclad. The researcher John
Gagnon characterized 12 percent of his sample of children assaulted by
total strangers as "collaborative," whatever that term means to him.¹⁵

Incest victims seem particularly singled out for this blaming of the
victims. Dr. Irving Weiner wrote that the "absence of any complaints on
the part of the daughters indicates that these girls were not merely
helpless victims of their fathers' needs but were gratified by the rela-
tionship, if not . . . active initiators of it."¹⁶

Of course, many victims did complain. Nonetheless, Weiner dis-
misses such reports by saying that "it is quite likely that many incestu-
ous daughters avoid guilt feelings by denying their enjoyment of the
sexual experience."¹⁷ It is not at all clear what victims could have done
to convince Weiner of their innocence. In his writings, we find that
whether victims endured silently or complained loudly, they were
nonetheless deemed to have been "gratified" by the incest.

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A basic tenet of science is that if the facts don't support the theory, the theory should give way. It often simply does not happen. Sometimes the facts are twisted to fit the theory or if that fails, they are simply ignored. For example, Atolay Yorukoglu and John Kumph described two children who were victims of incest with a parent.¹⁸ Between them, the two children had the following symptoms: setting fires, vandalism, stealing, aggressive behavior, sexual abuse of boys, anxiety, exhibitionism, social withdrawal, and suicidal ideation. They were kept in residential care because they were too aggressive to be maintained in a foster home. Nonetheless, the authors titled the article "Children Not Severely Damaged by Incest with a Parent" and described the children as "not seriously affected."¹⁹ Dr. Mary de Young wondered if the children would have agreed.²⁰

The most extreme view in this area was that of Matilde W. Rascovsky and A. Rascovsky, who declared that incest was actually good for the child. "The actual consummation of the incestuous relation . . . diminishes the subject's chance of psychosis and allows better adjustment to the external world."²¹ It is not clear what "facts" that statement was based on, but this view was shared by at least some writers. In 1979, a West Virginia social work professor announced that "incest may be a positive experience or at worst, neutral and dull."²²

Putting aside for a moment the absurdity of such claims, what is particularly puzzling is that the adult offender was effectively erased from these descriptions as though he had no responsibility—indeed as though he wasn't even there. When offenders are mentioned, their responsibility for their own behavior, their harmfulness and aggressiveness, are described in terms that are strikingly benign.

"Gentle, fond of children and benevolent" was the way Virkunen described the pedophile.²³ He was a "timid person, usually without adult contact, childish and immature."²⁴ Drs. Eugene Revitch and Rosalie Weiss called such offenders "harmless" individuals and their victims "aggressive and seductive children."²⁵ These authors complained that a group of children "exploited" a pedophile "through accepting his gifts and money" (*italics mine*).²⁶

This blaming of children for child sexual abuse began to fade for a

time in the 1970s and is currently defense filed by that "negligence the fact that the what kind of ne

Note too that a year-old teacher t of having sex with tionship may have

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Child Molesters

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the way Virkunen son, usually without the Revitch and Rosetta and their victims authors complained enough accepting his began to fade for a

time in the 1970s and 1980s, although it has never died out entirely and is currently making a comeback. Witness, for instance, the legal defense filed by Cardinal Bernard F. Law in Boston in 2002, claiming that "negligence" by a six-year-old boy and his parents contributed to the fact that the child was sexually abused by a priest.²⁷ One wonders what kind of negligence he's talking about on the child's part.

Note too that a California judge, also in 2002, sentenced a thirty-three-year-old teacher to probation instead of prison after she was found guilty of having sex with a fifteen-year-old boy. The judge stated that "the relationship may have been a way for the boy to 'satisfy his sexual needs.'"²⁸

To the extent that making the victim responsible for abuse did wane, however, its waning brought with it a shift of responsibility, not to the offender, initially, but to the nonoffending spouse and the family instead. Blaming the mother has actually been embedded in the incest literature for some time, although it began to achieve much greater prominence as blaming the child began to fade. The incest offender was said to be "placed in the position of compensating the oral frustrations inflicted by the mother."²⁹ Irving Kaufman et al. wrote that incest was the child's response to abandonment by the mother,³⁰ whereas Lillian Gordon declared that the child committed incest as revenge against the mother for pre-Oedipal frustrations.³¹

Where was the father? Captain Noel Lustig and his colleagues considered the father little more than a "vehicle" for "unconscious homosexual strivings in the mother."³² They wrote of the father's "psychological passivity" while calling the mothers the "cornerstone of the pathological family system."³³

Mothers supposedly gave permission for the incest, unconsciously if not consciously. Some authors felt that the percentage of mothers who knew about the incest approached 80 to 90 percent.³⁴ Blair and Rita Justice disagreed, insisting that every mother colluded with the abuse in some way.³⁵

In the late 1970s, a child sexual abuse treatment was developed by Hank Giarretto in San Jose, California, that became nationally famous and served as a model for the development of many other treatment programs. The statement of philosophy for the program declared that

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"Incestuous behavior is one of the many symptoms of a dysfunctional family."³⁶ Giarretto proudly published figures that showed the percentage of mothers who felt responsible for the incest rose from 0 percent at intake to 50 percent at termination. This was considered success.

I attended a training at that treatment program in the 1980s. The culpability of the family, including the victim, was stressed so much that I finally raised my hand.

"If I was an offender in this program and I reoffended," I began, "I'd just say, 'Guess the family's not doing too well.' How are you going to hold people responsible for this if you tell them it's not their fault, it's the family's fault?" There was a lot of scrambling but no answer given that made sense to me.

This line of reasoning sometimes went to absurd lengths (if you don't think it was there already). Yvonne Tormes, for example, described a group of incest offenders, some of whom had been extremely violent.³⁷ They had burned children with hot irons, locked a mother in a closet while abusing the child, and broken a radio over a mother's head. One would think the offenders might have some responsibility for their behavior in these cases, but Tormes wrote that the cause of the abuse was "the mother's failure to protect her child."³⁸

Today, the notion that the family is responsible for incest is far more alive than the notion that children are responsible for seducing grown men. There are still numerous treatment programs that use family therapy to treat incest. Whereas some use family therapy responsibly, as an adjunct to offender treatment, others state openly that they consider incest to be caused by family dysfunction and that treatment should address the family problems, not the offender's proclivity to offend.

Of course, considering the family the source of the abuse inevitably means reducing the culpability of the offender. In 1989 Clinicians Terry Trepper and Mary Jo Barrett described their method of doing family therapy with offenders.³⁹ They recommended telling the family, "The incestuous abuse may indicate that your family loved each other too much."⁴⁰ Child sexual abuse is thus redefined simply as "loving too much." Could it be a little confusing for a child to have incest labeled as "love"?

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"Sort of," my friend acknowledged.

"Because sometimes," he is the fucker and who is the

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He added that "the male, no special pathology; the girl, or other attention."⁴²

If these views seem dated consider Judith Levine's new Bruce Rind et al. on the issue by Professor Harris Mirkin, famous press—much of it post sexual abuse and its impact. Let

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FAX NO.: 6082189417

FROM :

Child Molesters

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A colleague of mine described an adolescent victim's reaction to treatment such as this. He was in individual therapy with my colleague as well as family therapy with another therapist. One day he said to my colleague, "Is there some rule in family therapy that you can't point the finger at anybody?"

"Sort of," my friend acknowledged.

"Because sometimes," he went on, "I think that therapist forgets who is the fucker and who is the fuckee." Point well taken.

The history of psychology in the past one hundred years has been filled with theories that deny sexual abuse occurs, that discount the responsibility of the offender, that blame the mother and/or child when it does occur, and that minimize the impact. It constitutes a sorry chapter in the history of psychology, but it is not only shameful, it is also puzzling. Hostility toward child victims and adult women leaks through this literature like poison. What accounts for the kind of foam-at-the-mouth hostility expressed by Professor of Law Ralph Slovenko in 1971, when he railed against the laws that held offenders responsible for sex with a child and quoted a 1923 judge's ruling with which he evidently agreed?

This wretched girl was young in years but old in sin and shame. A number of callow youths, of otherwise blameless lives as far as this record shows, fell under her seductive influence. . . . She was a mere "cistern for foul toads to know and gender in." Why should the boys, misled by her, be sacrificed?³⁹

He added that "the male offender in the case of statutory rape has no special pathology; the girl is usually more in need of psychiatric care or other attention."⁴⁰

If these views seem dated and extreme to you, you might want to consider Judith Levine's new book, *Harmful to Minors*, or an article by Bruce Rind et al. on the impact of child sexual abuse, or a recent paper by Professor Harris Mirkin,⁴¹ all three of which have received enormous press—much of it positive—and all of whom minimize child sexual abuse and its impact. Levine, in fact, wants to lower the age of con-

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sent to twelve. Rind and Mirkkin both question whether sexual abuse harms the child, and Rind, in fact, would like us to quit calling it abuse.

These views bear looking at more closely. Levine's book, particularly, is troubling: The case she makes is flawed by numerous inaccuracies and misstatements of fact. Levine claims there is simply no large-scale problem of child sexual abuse. She argues that most normal men are attracted to adolescents, and therefore the attraction isn't deviant at all. She minimizes or even ignores the fact that some men are attracted to children far younger than adolescence. It is not clear, she contends, that there is any such thing as a pedophile,⁴⁴ and to prove her point, she cites the true fact that some men who are attracted to children are also attracted to adults. According to her, therefore, they are not pedophiles.

However, whether someone is attracted to adults is irrelevant to whether or not they are a pedophile. The diagnostic manual of the American Psychiatric Association states that pedophiles are adults who are sexually attracted to prepubescent children, and they may or may not be attracted to other adults as well.⁴⁵ As someone who has interviewed a number of men who have raped infants as young as five months of age, men who have sexually abused preschoolers repeatedly, men who have targeted children under the age of ten, and men who admit to being sexually attracted to them (some of them obsessively so), I can only wonder why Levine would make this claim.

What would she say, for example, to the three brothers I interviewed last week who were molested by a priest when they were children. One of them remembers vividly the last time the priest molested him. The priest was fondling the boy's nude genitals when he noticed the boy had begun to sprout his first pubic hair. The priest stopped immediately.

"What's this?" he demanded.

"It's hair," the child said. "It's been there."

"I never noticed it," the priest said, and got up immediately. That was the last time he molested that child. But he continued to molest his younger brothers.

But it is not just Levine's denial that pedophiles exist that makes this book troubling. She believes that even if pedophiles do exist, they can

be "cured."⁴⁶ That is certainly a prospect to all who treat offenders. The International Association for the Treatment of Sexual Offenders (IATSO) states plainly on their website that sexual abusers are treatable, and that sexually abusive behavior is a

The best estimates today of treatment and reoffense rates for sexual offenders in behavioral treatment can reduce the risk of reoffense to a relatively short run.⁴⁸ The impact of treatment is a 60:40 odds ratio of .60. Not every offender is cured, of course, but for those who are, the risk of reoffense is low. Out of every one hundred offenders, only about 40 would still reoffend with treatment. Being able to reduce the risk of reoffense certainly makes treatment a much more heartening prospect. One hundred offenders who are treated translates into numerous children who are not sexually abused. It's not just that it's never been in the past.

But sixty out of one hundred is not the most effective treatment available. It's a long way from "curing" pedophilia. It's a long way from the short run. No one really knows how long a run.

No one in my field today expects a cure. Alcohol and drug counselors expect a cure. Given all that, I looked for optimism, but she offered none. She said that pedophilia is a chronic condition and that research on reoffense rates is

Contrary to politicians' claims, offenders are among the lowest

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Contrary to politicians' claims, the recidivism rates of child sex offenders are among the lowest in the criminal population. Analyses

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No one in my field today even speaks of a "cure," any more than alcohol and drug counselors speak of a cure for alcoholism or drug addiction. Given all that, I looked with interest for the source of Levine's optimism, but she offered no research, no support whatsoever for her notion that pedophilia is curable, except her own interpretation of research on reoffense rates.

Contrary to politicians' claims, the recidivism rates of child sex offenders are among the lowest in the criminal population. Analyses

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of thousands of subjects in hundreds of studies in the United States and Canada found that about 13 percent of sex offenders are rearrested, compared with 74 percent of all prisoners.⁵⁰

But her comments about 13 percent reoffense rates are only accurate to a point, and the point is a big one. The major meta-analysis she cites only studied reoffense rates for all sex offenders (treated and untreated combined) in the first four to five years after release.⁵¹ The implication Levine makes that these are lifetime reoffense rates is wrong.

Research on long-term reoffense rates finds considerably higher rates.⁵² Dr. Robert Prentky, for example, found that the long-term reoffense rate for rapists was 39 percent and for out-of-home child molesters, 52 percent.⁵³ Conservative estimates from across studies show that it is likely that no fewer than 40 percent of child molesters and rapists reoffend in the long run. These are average reoffense rates, and they refer to *detected* offenses. Obviously, we don't catch people for everything they do. In fact, the rate of detection of sexual offenses looks quite low, as noted earlier. But even ignoring the issue of underreporting, close to half of child molesters are likely to reoffend in the long run, most certainly not 13 percent as Levine claims.

Certain subgroups of sex offenders are known to have even higher rates of reoffending. The Canadian researcher Karl Hanson found that those offenders who were never married, had boy victims, and had previous offenses demonstrated a detected reoffense rate of 77 percent in the long run.⁵⁴ Any group with a detected rate of reoffense that high means that virtually all offenders in those groups are likely to reoffend, given what we know about undetected offenses.

Did Levine not know all this? Did she really misread the research so completely that she believed that 13 percent was the lifetime reoffense rate of sex offenders, or did she simply feel it would not help her case to state accurate figures? Her case states that pedophilia doesn't really exist, that even if it does, it can be easily cured, and that—not to worry—child molesters don't reoffend very often, anyway.

But what is very troubling about this book is that Levine goes far beyond inaccurate figures, naïve assessments, and a poor fund of infor-

mation; she goes on to claim that we should, in a world, there is no problem just sex per se that is actually sex with older me-

teens often seek out understandable reasons for growing up, protected would be with a peer teens, a romance with than victimization.⁵⁵

Despite the rosy picture of adolescents and adult men, it cites research that found in relationships with older also frequently drop out of families. These same girl relationships and "regretful us, however, that the same lovers. But the same thing

Other studies have found the Campaign to End Teen Pregnancy twelve- to seventeen-year-olds were older: 72 percent of them, Levine tells us repeatedly, to have sex with adults; to know their own minds, the societal attitudes. "Teens are wrong, and whenever they are. Maybe, but maybe they are. Apparently, we should let their lives when they get when they become involv-

Child Molesters

dies in the United States of sex offenders in prisoners.³⁰

Levine's rates are only accurate for meta-analysis she does on offenders (treated and untreated release).³¹ The information on offense rates is wrong, considerably higher than the long-term reoffense rates of home child molesters across studies show for child molesters and reoffense rates, and doesn't catch people for sexual offenses on the issue of underreporting to reoffend in the claims.

Levine also has even higher rates than Hanson found that victims, and had a reoffense rate of 77 percent in the case of reoffense that high are likely to reoffend,

Levine spread the research so that the lifetime reoffense rate did not help her case on pedophilia doesn't really do it, and that—not to say anything.

Levine goes far beyond a poor fund of infor-

mation; she goes on to give advice to parents and legislators, specifically that we should lower the age of consent to twelve. In Levine's world, there is no problem with twelve-year-olds having sex. And it is not just sex per se that Levine encourages for young teens, it is specifically sex with older men.

Teens often seek out sex with older people, and they do so for understandable reasons: an older person makes them feel sexy and grown up, protected and special; often the sex is better than it would be with a peer who has as little skill as they do. For some teens, a romance with an older person can feel more like salvation than victimization.³²

Despite the rosy picture that Levine paints of sex between young adolescents and adult men, read her book carefully, and you will discover she cites research that found negative consequences to adult/child sex. Girls in relationships with older men often agree not to use a condom; they also frequently drop out of school and/or cut off ties with friends and families. These same girls later on often speak negatively of these early relationships and "regretfully of their choices."³³ Levine hastens to inform us, however, that the same thing might have happened with younger lovers. But the same thing wouldn't have happened with no lover.

Other studies have found similar results. A study by the National Campaign to End Teen Pregnancy found that two-thirds of sexually active twelve- to seventeen-year-olds wished they had waited until they were older: 72 percent of the girls and 55 percent of the boys.³⁴ Although Levine tells us repeatedly to listen to children when they say they want to have sex with adults, here she tells us not to listen. The teens don't know their own minds, she informs us. Their regrets can be traced to societal attitudes. "Teens get the message that the sex they are having is wrong, and whenever they have it, at whatever age, it is too early."³⁵ Maybe, but maybe they were too young, just like they said.

Apparently, we should not listen to our children, to what happens to their lives when they get involved in sex too early, to what happens when they become involved with older men. We should not listen to

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their regrets or their health problems or their young pregnancies. Instead, we should only listen to what twelve-year-olds want in the heat of the moment.

Levine is not alone today in minimizing the effects of child sexual abuse and in trying to redefine it. In 1998, Rind et al. published a meta-analysis of studies that looked at the impact of child sexual abuse on college samples.⁵⁹ Despite the fact that the samples they used were all from college populations, they use their findings to make statements on child sexual abuse in the larger population, although later they claimed they were only saying it was "relevant," not representative or generalizable.⁶⁰

Their conclusions were—although victims were more maladjusted in seventeen of eighteen categories of maladjustment—that the maladjustment was slight and due to family dysfunction, not child sexual abuse. When family dysfunction was controlled statistically, the difference in maladjustment supposedly disappeared.

Boys in particular, they felt, were not affected by child sexual abuse. Although Rind et al. admitted that that impact could be separated from wrongfulness, they nonetheless recommended dropping the word "abuse" and calling sex between adults and children simply "adult-child" and "adult-adolescent" sex instead. The term "abuse" would only be used if "a young person felt that he or she did not willingly participate in the encounter *and* if he or she experienced negative reactions to it" (*italics mine*).⁶¹

Presumably, then, forcible rape of a child would not be considered abuse even if the child did not "consent," provided the child later said the abuse had made her or him stronger (a positive reaction) or the child minimized the impact as adults have repeatedly been shown to do with traumatic events of all sorts.⁶²

Likewise, the seduction or manipulation of a child into sexual activity would not be considered "abuse" by definition, even if trickery, bribery, or conning was used and even if the child had a severe reaction. According to Rind et al., unless there is violence, the child "consented." Rind makes no distinction for children under twelve in these definitions. Presumably, a four-year-old—or even an infant—is able, in

their view, to give "consent" in the absence of overt violence.

The study kicked up a storm. All experts in the field were surprised. I had read the literature on this for some time, particularly so. I initially planned on reading about sexual abuse, but that grandiose without being able to tap into months, however, I was convinced like getting bitten by a rattlesnake and some didn't, but it wasn't.

But if scholars familiar with the study, others were outraged. Days months after its publication in 1999, that it was "garbage research." She added that she thought pedophilia and to change the way certain groups have used it.

The publicity resulting from that even Congress got involved in condemning the study, a few academics, the issue then became defense of the study, academic peer review, supposedly a rigorous process.

But had it? It was later revealed that a set of peer reviewers, and the author should not be resubmitted. Rind et al. tried again. This time at least down. Because the others have to who actually recommended it.

The study has been repeated. Apparently some who read it. Critics have charged that Rind included studies with primarily negative

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The study kicked up a storm in two very different quarters. First of all, experts in the field were surprised, to say the least—I among them. I had read the literature on the impact of child sexual abuse carefully for some time, particularly so for a book I did on treatment of victims.⁶³ Initially planned on reading *all* the literature on the sequelae of child sexual abuse, but that grandiose plan faded as I read for months on end without being able to tap into all the research. At the end of several months, however, I was convinced of one thing. Child sexual abuse was like getting bitten by a rattlesnake. Some kids recovered completely, and some didn't, but it wasn't good for anybody.

But if scholars familiar with the literature were surprised by the study, others were outraged. Dr. Laura came across the study, and nine months after its publication told 18 million listeners on March 22, 1999, that it was "garbage research with a dangerous statement at the end."⁶⁴ She added that she thought the study might be used to normalize pedophilia and to change the legal system, which is certainly exactly how certain groups have used it.⁶⁵

The publicity resulting from Dr. Laura's radio address was so great that even Congress got involved. In July of 1999, they passed a resolution condemning the study, a first to be sure. Unfortunately, for many academics, the issue then became a question of academic freedom. In defense of the study, academics pointed to the fact that it had survived peer review, supposedly a rigorous process.

But had it? It was later revealed that it had been rejected by the first set of peer reviewers, and the authors were told the study was so flawed it should not be resubmitted. However, after a change of editors, Rind et al. tried again. This time at least one reviewer also turned the study down. Because the others have not come forward, it remains unclear as to who actually recommended the study for publication, if anybody.⁶⁶

The study has been repeatedly criticized on methodological grounds. Apparently some who read it think the original reviewers got it right. Critics have charged that Rind et al. excluded relevant outcomes, included studies with primarily noncontact offenses (such as exhibition-

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ism), used inappropriate statistics, and generalized their results inappropriately, among a host of other flaws.⁶⁷

Rind et al. have put up a vigorous defense.⁶⁸ As a key element in that defense, they have attacked everyone in sight for bias. They have called their critics "religious and moralistic zealots."⁶⁹ They have portrayed themselves as representing "science" and their critics as representing "moralistic psychiatry," "politics," and "orthodoxy."⁷⁰ They have even compared themselves in workshop flyers to Galileo and Darwin.⁷¹ They have accused everyone else of bias, but nowhere have they mentioned their own.

But the fact is that Rind et al. were pro-pedophilia long before their meta-analysis was published. Take, for example, their articles in *Paidika: The Journal of Pedophilia*. *Paidika* is not your typical objective academic journal. In fact, *Paidika* does not pretend to be objective at all. It is published in the Netherlands, where the age of consent has been lowered to twelve, and its purpose was summed up in its first issue as follows:

The starting point of *Paidika* is necessarily our consciousness of ourselves as paedophiles. . . . We intend to demonstrate that paedophilia has been, and remains, a legitimate and productive part of the totality of human experience.⁷²

I came across this journal some time ago, when I discovered that a psychologist who frequently testified for the defense in child sexual abuse cases, Ralph Underwager, had given an interview to this journal in which he said pedophilia was a "responsible" choice, called it, "God's will," and stated it was about "closeness and intimacy." The cover of that issue had a drawing of a nude adolescent boy on it.⁷³

Both Rind and his colleague Bauserman had published articles in *Paidika* long before their meta-analysis appeared, Bauserman arguing that pedophilia has traditionally provided boys with positive role models, and Rind commenting favorably on a book that attacked the "child abuse industry."⁷⁴ After the meta-analysis appeared, they were keynote speakers for a conference on pedophilia in the Netherlands, sponsored by an organization whose head, Reverend H. Visser, is a long-term advocate for pedophilia.⁷⁵

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In addition to his witty defense of Theo Sandfort, I contacted pedophiles who the could interview. Sandfort they experienced the relationship. Despite the fact that the time (where the study tool parents did not know their inform the authorities or if secrecy and deception?⁷⁶ I attacked on both methodology and attacked Sandfort's conclusions. Bauserman was about to enter graduate school.

It does not appear that doing a let-the-chips-fall three original authors were and boys long before their harm" attached.

But their own biases are any good. The statistician's reader who would like to feel. But two things are clear: the. As Stephanie Dallam, tained very different results for family dysfunction. impact of other social variables. impact of sexual abuse.

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In addition to his writing for *Paidika*, Bauserman also wrote a spirited defense of Theo Sandfort's work in another article. Sandfort had con-
 ...tacted pedophiles who then selected from their current victims those he
 ...could interview. Sandfort spoke with the children, then reported that
 ...they experienced the relationships and the sexual contacts positively.
 ...Despite the fact that the activity was illegal in the Netherlands at the
 ...time (where the study took place) and despite the fact that many of the
 ...parents did not know their children were being abused, Sandfort did not
 ...inform the authorities or their parents but colluded with the pedophiles'
 ...secrecy and deception.⁷⁶ Understandably, Sandfort's work has been at-
 ...tacked on both methodological and ethical grounds.⁷⁷ Bauserman's arti-
 ...cle attacked Sandfort's critics and justified Sandfort's methods and his
 ...conclusions. Bauserman was barely out of college at the time and was
 ...about to enter graduate school. His meta-analysis was eight years away.
 ...It does not appear that these are objective, neutral scientists here
 ...doing a let-the-chips-fall-where-they-may study. At least two of the
 ...three original authors were writing positively about sex between men
 ...and boys long before their meta-analysis "discovered" there was "little
 ...harm" attached.

But their own biases aside, the real question is whether the study is
 ...any good. The statistical arguments fly back and forth, and for any
 ...reader who would like to follow them, I refer you to the citations above.
 ...But two things are clear: The first is that their findings are truly an out-
 ...lier. As Stephanie Dallam points out, other meta-analyses have ob-
 ...tained very different results.⁷⁸ In addition, a series of studies control-
 ...ling for family dysfunction have found that when you remove the
 ...impact of other social variables, including family dysfunction, the neg-
 ...ative impact of sexual abuse remains.⁷⁹

The second fact that's clear is that, one more time, the offender has
 ...disappeared. In Rind and his colleagues' view, kids are either forced
 ...into sexual acts through violence or they "consent." The underlying as-
 ...sumption is that children and adolescents are equal matches for adults.
 ...Presumably either adult pedophiles are *not* trying to manipulate and
 ...con children for sex, or it is a "buyer beware" situation in which the
 ...kids can and should fend for themselves.

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It is surely not just children. Lucy Berliner, a victim of child sexual abuse, described the process of moving from overt sexual acts to covert sexual acts. The children were told that it was a way to help the offender. According to her, most of the children loved him, liked him, most all of the children gave "consent" or to pretend cutting fingers off, abandoning them. They use techniques described by Steven Wolf, and Tim L. Marshall, a skilled in identifying a sample of twenty sex of-

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will go along with

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was bait. . . . Give
her. Tell her she is

special. Choose a kid who has been abused. Your victim will think that this time is not as bad.⁸⁶

Other research agrees. British researchers Michele Elliott, Kerin Browne, and Jennifer Kilcoyne found in a sample of ninety-one offenders that nearly one-half said they chose children who "seemed to lack confidence or had low self esteem."⁸⁷ They manipulated the child's affection through bribes, gifts, and games.

This process of manipulation is based on important differences in maturity levels, without which the manipulation wouldn't work. The child is at a disadvantage here: He or she has no idea of the offender's intentions, no way to know that the affection expressed isn't genuine, and no recognition of the techniques used to manipulate him or her. Most writers who defend pedophilia—Rind, Bauserman, and Levine, for example—simply pretend this kind of manipulation does not occur and that children and adolescents are equal partners with adults in sexual activities.

However, Harris Mirkin takes a different view. An associate professor at Kansas State University, he wrote an article that compared the "oppression" of pedophiles to the oppression of women and homosexuals. Evidently aware of the extent to which pedophiles manipulate adolescents, he simply justified it.

Pubescents and adolescents are usually thought of as hard to control and attempts to mold their behavior and initiate them into legal and enjoyable adult activities are considered valuable. However, in the sexual area these assumptions are reversed. It is asserted that they are easily controlled, and they are conceptualized as little children who have no sexual desire of their own and can only be passive victims. According to the dominant formulas the youths are always seduced. They are never considered partners or initiators or willing participants even if they are hustlers.

It is only legitimate to coerce pubescents and teens not to have sex. It is argued that they cannot give consent, that they cannot enjoy sex even if they think that they do, and that they suffer physical and psychological harm, even if they are not aware of it. . . .⁸⁸

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In other words, why not manipulate adolescents into having sex, much as we put pressure on kids to do their homework or brush their teeth?

The old gang would be proud—Abraham, Virkunen, Revitch and Weiss, Bender and Blau, Lukianowicz, Henderson—everyone who minimized child sexual abuse, denied the role of the offender, and put all the responsibility on the children for "participating." Child sexual abuse is once again "infantile sexual acting out." Besides, sex between men and children—these new advocates tell us—doesn't do any harm, anyway, and we're just being moralistic by calling it "abuse."

Even the old invective is back. This time it is less often attacking the children or even the mothers, although some have done so. This time the invective is mostly for those who evaluate or treat abused children or advocate for them. In Rind's world we are "religious and moralistic zealots" attacking the modern equivalents of Galileo and Darwin.

In Levine's world, Andrew Vachss, the attorney and mystery writer, becomes a "sex-thriller writer,"⁸⁹ although if there is anything Vachss doesn't do, it's describe sex with children in any way that makes it "thrilling." Joyanna Silberg, a former president of the International Society for the Study of Dissociation, is described as "discredited," although she's never even had a board complaint filed against her, and her reputation is solid among her peers.⁹⁰ And when referring to Adam Walsh, a six-year-old boy whose head was found floating in a canal, Levine writes that his case "helped spur the creation of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and (some say) the career of his father,"⁹¹ a comment that is as callous as it is offensive.

The hostility to children and those who advocate for them continues. The attempt to minimize and deny the reality and impact of child sexual abuse is alive and kicking.

Men Who Are Sexually Attracted to Children

Unfortunately, despite Levine's contention, pedophiles exist, as do men who molest children for other reasons. The reasons they molest them are far simpler than complicated (and conveniently unprovable) theo-

ries of "unconscious" or "seductive" child sexual abuse. It is not due to alcohol, drugs, or "in love" or "always relevant." In children simply because they have what is most

The labels for this field, but the group, an actual analysis of molesters into subtypes, "attracted to children," "opposed to children," "opposed to those of an immature sex," "incidence,"⁹² Kurt Lewin, "attracted to children," "an adult partner,"⁹³ and "fixated,"⁹⁴ which versus "situational," versus "discontinuous."

All of these terms, thirty-five years or so, of child sexual interests. Their interests, and sometimes in sex

It is a particularly clear clue how and why that doesn't stop people from molesting children. They certainly know some of the arousal patterns, especially the heterosexual or homosexual

Child Molesters

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ries of "unconscious homosexual strivings in the mother."⁹² Sex offend-
ers do not molest because they are magically bewitched by aggressive
and seductive children, nor do they because they are "compensating
the oral frustrations inflicted by the mother,"⁹³ as quoted in Lustig et al.
It is not due to alcohol or stress in their lives. Nor is it because they are
simply "in love" and the age difference irrelevant. The age difference is
always relevant. In fact, it is the point. A sizable proportion molest chil-
dren simply because they are sexually attracted to that age group. They
have what is most often termed a "deviant arousal pattern."

The labels for this group have differed throughout the history of the
field, but the group's existence has always been recognized whenever
an actual analysis of the offenders has been done. Any division of child
molesters into subgroups has always found a set that is sexually at-
tracted to children. The researcher Paul Gebhard called them "pat-
terned" as opposed to "incidental" offenders.⁹⁴ Swanson spoke of "indi-
viduals to whom the child represents the sexual object of choice" as
opposed to "those on the other end of the continuum where the choice
of an immature sexual object is virtually a matter of convenience or co-
incidence."⁹⁵ Kurt Freund described offenders who were primarily at-
tracted to children versus those who used the child as a surrogate for
an adult partner.⁹⁶ Nicholas Groth divided offenders into "regressed"
and "fixated,"⁹⁷ whereas Richard Lanyon used the terms "preference"
versus "situational."⁹⁸ Hilary Eldridge described them as "continuous"
versus "discontinuous" offenders.⁹⁹

All of these terms describe similar concepts. What has been clear for
thirty-five years or more is that some offenders are fixated in their sex-
ual interests. Their sexual attraction to children is sometimes exclusive
and sometimes in conjunction with an attraction to adults as well.

It is a particularly vexing group because, for one thing, we don't have
a clue how and why a sexual attraction to children develops (although
that doesn't stop people from proposing theories about it that are pre-
sented as absolute fact). But if we don't understand the origins, we cer-
tainly know something about the patterns it produces. A deviant
arousal pattern appears to begin early and to be as rigid as normal het-
erosexual or homosexual preferences, and as resistant to change. In early

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adolescence, when most of us are finding peers attractive, the dreams of preferential child molesters are filled with much younger children. They start masturbating to these fantasies of sex with children, and for some of them it becomes their exclusive form of sexual fantasy. The child molester below describes how early he began fantasizing about children and how consuming those fantasies became.

Q. How old were you when you began to have sexual fantasies about children?

A. About 13 or 14.

Q. When you masturbated in the three months prior to the commission of your offenses, how often would you say during masturbation you had sexual fantasies involving children?

A. All the time.

This is not an unusual answer for a child molester. I ask another about his sexual interest pattern:

Q. Before you got into actual involvement, sexual involvement with these boys, was there any masturbation that was going on with fantasy about having sex with them?

A. All the time. That's a constant thing with me. It's something I'm still working on right now. I have to get, I have to calm that down. I believe if I can get a hold of that, I'll do a lot better.

Q. How much of the time do you fantasize about boys?

A. I'd say about half the day. It's when I'm not doing anything.

This is, of course, the reason that prison does nothing to change the sexual interest pattern of such offenders. They spend their lives thinking, fantasizing, masturbating, planning, and molesting children. Prison stops the molesting most of the time (although I know of cases—and have even testified in one—in which an inmate molested a child in the visiting room). But surely, prison at least slows the actual molesting down. By itself, however, prison does nothing about the fantasy and the planning. The obsession is maintained by constant masturbation to fan-

asies of children. The deviant as he went in.

In some ways, the usually attracted to them. But whereas some children there is no credible evidence pattern, and there is co-

But what would affect their relationships with condemnation of the common sexually attracted

Proble

People are meaning me we just make it up. Exp and give answers that ignorance. There is no offenders without a de family stress, job stress, a child—all have been abuse. But these are or with each of them.

Imagine yourself all say you are out of town lonely, and you have a ing sat in your room for a pleasant bar with a g gender for you. After a league is. Strange, you third glass, you decide everything he or she say

What happens next course. But in the top

Child Molesters

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tastes of children. The inmate emerges from incarceration at least as
deviant as he went in.

In some ways, the group that molests children because they are sex-
ually attracted to them makes some sense. At least we have a motive.
But whereas some child molesters are sexually attracted to children,
there is no credible evidence that all offenders have a deviant arousal
pattern, and there is considerable evidence that some do not.

But what would account for someone risking jail, their livelihood,
their relationships with family and friends, and most certainly the con-
demnation of the community to have sex with children, if they are not
even sexually attracted to them?

Problems and Their Relationship
to Child Sexual Abuse

People are meaning makers. When we don't know the answer, mostly
we just make it up. Experts seem to choke on the words "I don't know"
and give answers that defy logic and lack evidence to avoid admitting
ignorance. There is no paucity of "answers" to the question of why sex
offenders without a deviant arousal pattern molest children. Alcohol,
family stress, job stress, marital problems, financial problems, abuse as
a child—all have been suggested repeatedly as "causing" child sexual
abuse. But these are only theories, and there are significant problems
with each of them.

Imagine yourself all alone on a Friday night after a long week. Let's
say you are out of town at a meeting. You're far from home and feeling
lonely, and you have a relationship or marriage that isn't going well. Hav-
ing sat in your room for the previous three evenings, you find yourself in
a pleasant bar with a glass of wine and a colleague of the appropriate
gender for you. After two glasses, you notice how attractive your col-
league is. Strange, you hadn't thought much about it before. After the
third glass, you decide your colleague is really quite witty. Just about
everything he or she says seems to be extremely funny and charming.

What happens next would never happen to you, personally, of
course. But in the course of human history, it has happened that in

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such circumstances, certain individuals' judgment has gone downhill. In fact, some people's judgment has taken an Olympic bobsled run downhill, shattering all known records. But at that moment of vulnerability in the bar, if a three-year-old boy walked in, would he look any better to you as a possible sex partner than he does right now?

Alcohol releases inhibitions and decreases judgment concerning sexual interests the person already has. It will not create a sexual interest the person otherwise lacks. Likewise, all of us face stress without resorting to child molestation. It is striking that in twenty years of dealing with child molestation, the stresses offenders cite seem so ordinary: financial problems, marital problems, job problems. Child molestation seems highly unlikely to relieve that stress in the rest of us.

Although we may not entirely understand why, it is still clear that some men who molest children do not have a deviant arousal pattern. Certainly, we can identify other reasons some of them molest. Psychopaths will sometimes use anyone to gratify their sexual needs: children, animals, adults. Also, some with the inclination to molest seem worse under conditions of stress, but many molest when things are going well. Clearly, loneliness plays a role for some.¹⁰⁰ A significant percentage of child molesters do not seem to know how to connect with adults, and they alleviate their loneliness through children whom they find more trusting and accepting. But why sexualize it?

Finally, the most common answer in the literature has been that molesters were sexually victimized themselves as children. It has become a truism in the field. But is it so?

Are Child Molesters Really Just Victims Themselves?

"All victims are offenders," one professional challenged me at a conference, "and all offenders are victims. How does your work address that?"

My work doesn't address that because I don't believe there's any evidence for that assertion. Obviously, not all victims are offenders, but also it is likely that most offenders weren't victims. The studies that find a high proportion of child molesters who were victims of child sexual abuse themselves are almost always based on self-report, and even

there, study results show that child molesters who were victims are 22 percent in some studies.

But in any case, when the offender is a sex offender, he has interests to lie, and if

Being victimized in child molestation gets seen as he gains much more reports of sex offenders in their best interests.

Only a few studies they have found very that people who have been about being victimized by child molesters with a later given a polygraph after this was also given immediately in order to take away

This study is not appears to be highly accurate deception in any cases. Offenders thought the polygraph was going to take the group who wasn't going

In a series of studies, abused as a child were the threat of a polygraph. The offenders who polygraphed, 32 percent, reported approximately the nonpolygraph group.

Child Molesters

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there, study results differ dramatically. Studies show the number of child molesters who were themselves molested as children ranges from 22 percent in some studies to 82 percent in others.¹⁰¹

But in any case, offender self-reports have dubious validity, especially when the offender's self-interest is at stake. The only rule for deception in sex offenders I have ever found is this: If it is in the offender's best interests to lie, and if he can do it and not get caught, he will lie.

Being victimized as a child has become a ready excuse for perpetrating child molestation. The offender who claims he himself was victimized gets seen as less of a "monster" than one who wasn't a victim, and he gains much more empathy and support. It is hard to trust self-reports of sex offenders about abuse in their past when such reports are in their best interest.

Only a few studies on this topic have used objective measures, and they have found very different results.¹⁰² Jan Hindman knows all too well that people who have lied for decades about their offending would lie to her about being victimized as a child, so she compared the reports of abuse by child molesters who were not being polygraphed on their answers with a later group who was informed that they would have to take a polygraph after the interview. The group that was being polygraphed was also given immunity from prosecution for crimes previously unknown in order to take away one of the many reasons that offenders lie.¹⁰³

This study is not about how good the polygraph is—although it appears to be highly accurate¹⁰⁴ and better than people are at detecting deception in any case. Rather, this study is about how good the offenders thought the polygraph was because the answers of the group who was going to take the polygraph turned out to be very different from the group who wasn't going.

In a series of three studies, the offenders who claimed they were abused as a child were 67 percent, 65 percent, and 61 percent without the threat of a polygraph. With polygraph (and conditional immunity), the offenders who claimed they were abused as children were 29 percent, 32 percent, and 30 percent, respectively. The polygraph groups reported approximately half the amount of victimization as children as the nonpolygraph groups did.

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Nonetheless, the notion that most offenders were victims has spread throughout the field of sexual abuse and is strangely comforting for most professionals. For one thing, it gives meaning to the behavior of offenders and at the same time allows people to feel badly for them. I remember a cartoon in which a man is lying in the gutter, badly beaten. Two social workers stand over him, and one says to the other, "The man who did this really needs help." If offenders are just victims, then no one has to face the reality of malevolence, the fact that there are people out there who prey on others for reasons we simply don't understand.

Even people who know better collude with this stance. A professional I know is fond of telling audiences, "The victim you don't treat today is an offender tomorrow." I called her up.

"That isn't true," I said. "The studies don't back that up," and I rattled on about polygraph and the dubiousness of offender self-report.

"It doesn't matter," she replied. "I can't get them to care about what happens to victims if I don't say that."

I thought about it when I hung up. Basically she was saying that scaring half the molested children in the United States into thinking they will be child molesters when they grow up is justified by political expediency.

But I am not being honest here. My problem with her approach is not primarily that it frightens people. Many true things frighten people, and lying about them doesn't help. If the statement were true, I would not suppress the information. My problem is that it isn't true. This woman is frightening victims about something that isn't even true. She doesn't think it matters whether it's true or not and considers me a goody two-shoes, an obsessive academic. She sees herself as someone who sees the larger picture.

She could be right about a lot of this. Probably I am a goody two-shoes—certainly, an obsessive academic. Maybe she does see the larger picture. But a couple of decades of swimming in deception has left me holding onto the true things, clutching them in my little paws, turning them over and over. A true thing has a different ring, a different energy about it. It leaves little wake and does not disturb the complex interweaving all around it the way a lie does.

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Child Molesters

These lies: They glitter, spin, and undulate like lures trailing through clear water, but always, always there is a hook embedded somewhere under all those feathers. Call me an obsessive academic. I'll check every figure in this book before I release it. It's not a moral stand. It's just a need for one true thing.

So What's the Answer?
Why Do Offenders Molest Children?

We only know this much. There is a subgroup of child molesters who molest children simply because they are sexually attracted to them. There are others who molest because they are antisocial or even psychopathic and simply feel entitled. There are still others who use children for the intimacy they are too timid or impaired to obtain from adults. And there are others who molest for reasons we don't understand at all.

But make no mistake, whether men molest because of sexual preference or for other reasons, their compulsiveness can be extraordinary. Take, for example, a minister who had sexually abused his grandchildren. He had no criminal record of any sort outside the sexual charges and, in fact, had lived a responsible life in every other way. When he was caught, he admitted the offenses and made no excuses. He pled guilty and was imprisoned; he told me he was glad to be in jail because he thought it could make up, in some small way, for what he had done. I asked him how he had justified the abuse to himself while it was going on, how he had put aside the conscience that was evident elsewhere in his life. He responded:

I didn't suspend my conscience. I carried it right into the action with me. I think in my own personal view this is part of a compulsive pattern. You do things, you don't always justify the action, but you carry the consequences of the action into the action, and you do it despite or in spite of the known consequences.

I suppose that being a devout religious person, if I had believed with all of my mind and heart that the earth was going to open up

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and swallow me up in hell, I would have went ahead and done it anyway.

I remember distinctly my reaction when he said this. The hair stood up on the back of my neck. I understood for the first time what we were up against. If a man who truly believes in hell would be willing to go there in exchange for the chance to molest a child, this problem had a persistence and a compulsiveness that few outside the drug addiction world could appreciate.

Whatever the reasons people develop such a fixation, it tends to be chronic and resistant to change. The people who have such patterns are not a small number, more like an invisible army that cannot be recognized on the street. Certainly, some of them are unemployed, take drugs, and fulfill the stereotype of the street criminal. But there are others considerably more successful in life, and they may be equally goal-oriented and driven in pursuit of children: the college professor who traveled to the Philippines to buy children from poverty-stricken parents, the Olympic-level kayaking coach who threatened to ruin the kayaking career of any student who resisted, the teacher who used questionnaires to identify the children with low self-esteem and then molested them, the minister who researched families to find out who didn't have a father, the priest who held a boy underwater when he tried to resist.

These men—and they are usually men for reasons we also don't understand—are part of our communities, part of our network of friends, worse yet, sometimes part of our families. Some of them are doctors and lawyers, and some are academics who publish studies. No one has all the answers about how to stop them, nor even why all of them do what they do. But at least we should have the decency as a people to stop making excuses for them.

Female Sex Offenders

By all accounts, female child molesters are less common than male ones, but they do exist. How common they are depends on where you look. For example, if you look at reports that come into child protection

agencies, about 3 to 5 percent of the children you look at who are serving time in prison, a Canadian study found that less than 1 percent were female.

It is far rarer for female sex offenders than for male, and more difficult to get convicted. I want to believe that women do such a thing. Once, when I was asked the first question from the audience, one has ever asked me that.

Female sex offenders appear in some important ways. There are some that keep appearing in the news, exactly the typology of male sex offenders. One group is a group that molests their own. Many of these women are unable to function as a mother, a wife, a sister, a friend, a neighbor, a survivor cited by Bobbie Rosenfeld.

She wanted me to love her. She was little and sick. It makes me sad. I want to maintain her own identity. Band, sister, lover and friend.

The really bad news is that there are children who have sadistic tendencies. Fourteen offenders in her sample molested a child. That some of these women have descriptions of some of their victims.

My mother threatened to burn me. I was given beer to drink. I was told I would be burned if I was caught. I was burned on the butt with a cigarette. I stop screaming. 109

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agencies, about 3 to 5 percent of them involve female offenders.¹⁰⁵ If you look at who's serving time in prison, the figures go down. A Canadian study found that less than 1 percent of sex offenders serving two years or more were female.¹⁰⁶ That certainly fits with my experience. It is far rarer for female sex offenders to be prosecuted than male, and far more difficult to get convictions. The average person does not seem to want to believe that women, particularly the child's own mother, could do such a thing. Once, when I was presenting on female sex offenders, the first question from the audience was, "How do you stay sane?" No one has ever asked me that when I present on male sex offenders.

Female sex offenders appear to be different than male offenders in some important ways. There are three basic types of female offenders that keep appearing in the research literature,¹⁰⁷ and they do not match exactly the typology of male sex offenders. First, one of the largest groups is a group that molests children under the age of six, primarily their own. Many of these mothers seem to be fused with their children and unable to function as a maternal figure. For example, an adult survivor cited by Bobbie Rosencrans described her mother as follows:

She wanted me to love her like her own mother did when she was little and sick. It makes me nauseated to think about it. She used me to maintain her own sick pleasure. I was mother, father, husband, sister, lover and friend to her when I needed a mother.¹⁰⁸

The really bad news is that many of these molesters of young children have sadistic tendencies. In Jacques Saradjian's study, nine of the fourteen offenders in her sample admitted to enjoying hurting the child. That some of these women are truly sadistic is evidenced by the descriptions of some of their adult offspring.

My mother threatened to burn my hair/me if I did not comply. I was given beer to drink. I was beaten and there were threats I would be burned if I wasn't quiet. Sometimes I was slightly burned on the butt with lit cigarettes. I learned not to cry and to stop screaming.¹⁰⁹

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Another survivor stated that "the more I hurt the faster she'd come."¹¹⁰

Secondly, there is a teacher/lover group that primarily molests teenagers. This is not a group of teachers or adult women who are eighteen or twenty and are involved with seventeen-year-olds. There was, on average, a sixteen-year age gap between offender and victim in this study. Thus, these are a group of adult women, generally in their thirties, who pretty much double the age of their victims.¹¹¹ These women do not, in general, act sadistically. How could they, given that they do not have the same degree of power and control over their victims that a mother does over a young child? The victims simply would not comply. The women, instead, romanticize their involvement with the teens and tend to deflect the responsibility for it onto their victims:

The last group has no parallel in the world of male sex offenders. It is a group of women who are initially coerced into having sex with a child by a male partner. Their initial motivations are generally to please the male or, at the least, to avoid abandonment by him. However, as time progresses, some research indicates that many of these women begin to enjoy the sex with children and eventually molest them on their own.¹¹²

Regardless of the type of offender, women offenders are capable of the same severity of sexual abuse as male offenders are. Nor does the lack of a penis stop them from penetrating a child. A study listed all the objects that had been inserted into children's vaginas and rectums by female offenders. They were as follows:

Enema equipment, sticks, candles, vibrators, pencils, keys, hairbrushes, hairbrush handles, light bulbs, soapy wash cloths, wooden spoons, various fruits and vegetables, knives, scissors, lit cigarettes, sock darning tools, surgical knives, hair rollers, religious medals, vacuum cleaner parts, goldfish.¹¹³

There may be fewer female sex offenders than male ones, but it would be a serious mistake to think they don't exist or to underestimate the harm they do. Male or female, child molesters are difficult to spot. Their interest in children may be compulsive, but it is almost always

well hidden. If you see them,

I am standing in the middle of the room, two hundred whirling, all the things. There is a called childhood me hunger for the book I left behind me hunger for the ward glance since here. The mother children to come work so much the

This is spending of place. I don't every twenty minutes impulse, I think.

I find my daughter friend and another wave and turn away. Twenty minutes the same group. It's like this, her not in forty minutes every corner of the

Twenty minutes now; this is simply turn her to dance her back, right out that would freeze rock music. He has to dance together.

After that I kiss daughter, but when

Child Molesters

...faster she'd come."¹¹⁰
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well hidden. If they make mistakes, they are usually small ones. Now you see them; now you don't.

I am standing in the gym at a children's sock hop. The noise is deafening. Two hundred children are running, hopping, sliding, dancing, and whirling, all the while simultaneously shrieking at the top of their lungs. There is such a thing as a perpetual motion machine, and it is called childhood. The yelling children and the blaring rock music make me hunger for the quiet and the solace of my little fireplace and the book I left behind. Because neither of my children has given a backward glance since they headed into the fray, I begin to wonder why I'm here. The mother of my daughter's best friend had invited both of my children to come with her, but I had been reluctant to give them up. I work so much that time with my children is precious.

"This is spending time with your kids?" I think. I feel foolish and out of place. I don't see anyone I know. I trudge grumpily over to check every twenty minutes or so just to keep track of my kids. It is a neurotic impulse, I think. What could happen in such a public place?

I find my daughter. At age six, she is dancing happily with her best friend and another girl and the other girl's father, a man I don't know. I wave and turn away.

Twenty minutes later I look for her again. She is still dancing with the same group. It crosses my mind that this is a little unusual. In a setting like this, her attention span is normally measured in nanoseconds, not in forty-minute blocks. Usually she has to see everybody, explore every corner of the gym. Why is she still there?

Twenty minutes later the same group is still dancing. I am uneasy now; this is simply not her pattern. I walk over and touch her arm and turn her to dance with me. Instantly the man grabs her arm and pulls her back, right out of my hands. I take her arm again, give him a look that would freeze blood, and yell, "I am her mother" over the blaring rock music. He backs off. My daughter and I and her best friend go off to dance together.

After that I keep an eye on her—and him. He ignores his own daughter; but when he thinks I am not looking, he finds mine and her

PREDATORS

best friend in a long line of kids waiting to go under a limbo pole. He looks around, then picks both of them up and throws them in the air, all the time smiling and laughing and focusing on them intently. I step up, and he slips off.

A few days later I call on my daughter's teacher. I was uncomfortable, I tell her. No other father in the room was hanging around other people's children in that way. It was inappropriate, and if that man comes to school, I don't want him alone with my daughter. "Funny you should say that," she says. "He showed up for a field trip the other day. He spent so much time with another child that I thought he was that child's parent and sent a note home to the wrong family."

I go home and tell my nanny. Someone's going to call, and it won't be him. Likely it will be the child, perhaps the mom. They're going to invite my daughter over to play. Just be ready because she isn't going.

"What do I say?" my nanny asks, panicked. "I don't know what to say."

I stare at her incredulously. "Tell them she's sick," I say evenly. "Tell them she was abducted by aliens. Tell them she's pulling the wings off flies or doing quadratic equations. I don't care what you tell them. But she is never going."

Within a week, the call comes.

I tell the parents of my daughter's best friend because she was targeted too. Their daughter doesn't go either—for a while. But time and social norms wear her parents down. "What could we say?" they ask me. "It was during the day. He wasn't home. I don't think he'd do anything during the day with the sitter there, do you?"

Maybe he won't, I think. Maybe he isn't even a child molester. Maybe I am wrong about this. But if he is, he will not hesitate to come home early from work, dismiss the sitter, and take a little girl's trusting face in his hands and tell her he will teach her a new game.

I don't know what to say to these parents. In their heart of hearts they believe what they want to believe. He is middle-class, wears a suit, goes to work every day, pays his bills, takes his family on vacation, and seems like a nice person. He is a "nice" man in their world, and niceness, they believe—they want badly to believe—is a character trait, not a decision. They are afraid of strangers. I am afraid of him.

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5

Rapists

The statistics for home and least sexually speaking, women but our homes, at least garages. The best thing

As noted in Chapter of U.S. women have been reau of Justice statistics tempted rape are attacked are assaulted by acquaintances, intimates victimized by a strange group is sixteen to nine place in someone's home bor's. The most dangerous

Only about approximately and fewer still spend an were approximately 700 reported in general populations of sexual assault the rapes that occur in tion Women's Study defined as penetration

Even if the rapist is trial—time for the offense

FROM :
FRX NO. : 6092189417
Sep. 25 2006 10:22PM P18

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you, Dr. Salter. At this time, we will recognize Dr. Philip Jenkins for his 5-minute opening statement.

DR. JENKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee. In the year 2000, I had access to the proceedings of a bulletin board which was the meeting center for very large scale dealers, traffickers, and manufacturers of child pornography. The material I found there surprised me enormously because it ran so contrary to everything in the literature. Quite a lot of the literature still suggests that child porn on the Internet is largely a myth or that it results from a

misinterpretation of ambiguous or relatively low level material. That turned out to be completely wrong, and in contrast to the material Mr. Eichenwald has described, and his work is of course very important.

This was really the most dangerous hard core material that was being circulated, and I would ask you to focus just on the concept which is what is called the KG and KX series of child pornography. In the 1990s a man in Denmark or German had a wife who ran a kindergarten and in the space of a couple of years he took many thousands of images and videos of young girls aged between three and six, either nude or engaged in sex with adult men. The most loathsome kind of material, and that was only one sort of material that was available at that point. When you look at child porn offenders, when you read about somebody who has been arrested for the possession of say 50 images, please remember that there are many people out there whose collections run between 50,000 and 100,000. I believe the largest collection I have ever seen, in reference to 120,000 images.

When we think about child porn offenders, please remember that these elite dealers and manufacturers exist out there in a very large way and have virtually no fear of law enforcement. There is something they are afraid of, but it is not law enforcement. What they are afraid of and the group that did them the most harm in the period of time we were looking at them was what you could only call cyber vigilantes, white hat hackers. These people spend a great deal of their time frankly making fun of law enforcement agencies, but when the subject of vigilantes, clinical people, people with their technical level of skill was raised, that is when they became alarmed.

I came across many people in 2000 who had been working on the Internet, working on computers for 20 years back from the year 1980. Think of the level of experience and technical expertise they had and then imagine how difficult it is for an ordinary law enforcement agent to deal with that. The other word I want to emphasize here is global. This enterprise is absolutely global and the most important single thing that happened in the child porn world in the last 15 years was the liberalization of the Soviet Union, the break up of the Soviet Union and the East European nations. This is now, I believe, where a vast amount of this material is manufactured from which it is circulated. Just remember, for many of these consumers it is a very strong racial element. They used to have to deal with photos of Asian children, but now they have white blonde children and from this very racist mindset obviously, that is seen as so much more preferable.

A very quick word finally on the subject of profiling. We have to be so careful about profiling because usually the people we are profiling are the ones who have been arrested and very often they are quite low level

figures. The thing that strikes you, if you look at the boards. Dr. Salter made a very wise observation that the offenders are the experts. I suggest that the offenders who have not yet been arrested are the experts because they very often speak--and I have absolute respect for her very valuable work. The most dangerous thing, and I echo what she says, is how normal they are, and these boards very often feature discussions about the morality of the trade.

Somebody who is a major dealer will raise the subject has it occurred to you what we are doing is wrong, and they will bounce back on this for hours, and very often, as Mr. Eichenwald says, they were using children's rights rhetoric; we are in this to defend children. So just to emphasize two things. No solution is going to happen unless it is on a global basis and involves international cooperation, but it is the technical people, the website providers, and very often the hackers who are the people who can make the largest single impact on this alarming subject. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Jenkins follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. PHILIP JENKINS, PROFESSOR, HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

I have published extensively on matters of child abuse and molestation, and child protection. Between 1999 and 2001, I had access to a series of bulletin boards frequented by dealers, traffickers and manufacturers of child pornography, and also major consumers and collectors of this material. (I describe the center of this activity by the pseudonym "the Maestro Board"). Because this material was entirely verbal and text-based, I was able to access it without confronting the legal and ethical dilemmas involved in visiting sites where actual images were portrayed. My findings were published in my 2001 book *Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography on the Internet* (New York University Press). Though I have kept up with later developments in the field, I have made no attempt to revisit these boards, nor would this be possible today, since all are now password-protected, and the only way to gain access would be to supply original material – that is, to provide fresh images or videos of children.

I would also stress other limitations of my study. For one thing, the boards I was observing catered to images of small girls, whereas the excellent investigations of Kurt Eichenwald focused on sites dealing with young boys: the two areas of interest seem not to overlap in the slightest. From the nature of the material, moreover, I have no idea of the actual identities of participants, nor the scale of the enterprise. In cases where I had any positive evidence that might point to actual identities or rings, I have supplied that information to law enforcement agencies. I have also supplied these agencies with full copies of all the electronic materials I collected during my study.

Based on this research, I would draw several conclusions. Except where stated otherwise, I believe that each of these statements remains true today, and conditions may actually have become more serious

1. Child pornography is not a myth

It seems odd to start with such a statement, but it is necessary. Even well-informed commentators dismiss the child porn subculture as a moralist myth, perhaps a kind of conservative urban legend, like snuff films. Some years ago, in her otherwise engrossing

study of Internet censorship debates, Net.Wars, Wendy Grossman occasionally refers to child porn as one of the factors leading people to support restrictions, though in reality, (she asserts) only a “small amount of material... shows up on the Net.” She also writes that “many of the newsgroups with names like alt.binaries.pictureserotica.children were probably started as tasteless jokes, and are largely taken up with messages flaming the groups.” This remark is ironic since alt.binaries.pictureserotica.pre-teen (abpep-t) is an all too real phenomenon: by 2000, abpep-t boasted some 40,000 postings, mainly images of young girls from toddlers through puberty, and this newsgroup for years served as a central institution of the kiddie porn Net-culture. In Erotic Innocence, his fine book on contemporary attitudes to childhood sexuality, James Kincaid writes that in the mid-1990s, “researchers found nothing on the Internet that is not also in adult bookstores,” though there might be a marginal trade in child porn, “a cottage industry of sorts, a wary trading of photos and old magazines back and forth among a small number of people.” Otherwise, he argues, the only people distributing child porn online are government agencies, seeking to bait traps for pedophiles. Another major work on commercialized sex is Laurence O’Toole’s Pornocopia. After describing a celebrated child porn arrest in Great Britain, O’Toole argued that:

When... the hullabaloo over transnational Internet child porn rings ultimately amounts (in the UK at least) to the possession of three images dating back a quarter of a century, people are bound to wonder about the true nature or extent of the dangers of child porn in cyberspace a lot of the materials described as ‘child porn’ are in fact nude pictures of children taken from art-work, family albums and naturist materials.

Many of the materials do indeed fall into these categories, but hundreds of thousands of other images do not; and whereas a large number date back a quarter of a century, many others were made this year. And they are far more alarming than these accounts would suggest.

To illustrate this material at its vilest and most exploitative, we might consider the more recent KG and KX series, the “kindergarten” photos, which together represented perhaps the most prized collections available on the Net as of 2000-2001. KG is a series of many thousands of nude images of several very young girls, mainly aged between three and six years old, with each item including the girl’s name, like Helga, Inga, and so on. The photographs date from the mid-nineties, and they likely derive from either Germany or Scandinavia. In the words of one fan of the series, “Once upon a time. There was a chemist that had earned his Ph.D. Well, he got married and along with his wife opened up a day care center. Well, as the story goes, he managed to take pictures of lots and lots of things. Eventually he got busted.” The KG collection exists in parallel with a still more sought after version, KX, which depicts the same children in hard core sexual situations with one or more men. Put simply, most are pictures of four and five year old girls performing oral sex and masturbation on adult men. The immense popularity of the KG images ensured an enthusiastic market for KX, which entered general circulation in 2000.

We should also remember the case of “Helena,” probably a British girl, who, tragically, was long one of the best-known sex stars on the Web worldwide. In the late 1980s, as a little girl of seven or eight, Helena became the subject of a photo series which depicted her not only in all the familiar nude poses of hard-core pornography, but also showed her in numerous sex acts with Gavin, a boy of about the same age. Both are reportedly shown having sex with an adult man, presumably Helena’s father. The images are collectively known by various names, but the commonest is “hel-lo,” that is, “Helena/lolita.” Since their first appearance, they have had an astonishing afterlife, and probably not a day has passed without the hel-lo images appearing anew on some

electronic server somewhere in the world, and they are cherished by thousands of collectors worldwide. They seem to be the standard starter kit for child porn novices. In addition, Helena's pictures form part of a much larger series, known under titles like hel-anal, hel-cum, hel-louise, and so on. Hel-lo itself was recently described by a child porn enthusiast as

the greatest HC [hardcore] series ever made! She was 'acting' since she was a toddler until she was twelve years old, which means there are thousands of pics of her in action out there somewhere! No other series compares!!!

In addition to the traffic in visual images, many Usenet sites cater to pedophile interests through stories and written fantasies, which are entirely supplied by amateurs catering to other enthusiasts. In the language of the dissident underground of the old USSR, they are purely samizdat, "self-published." These stories are originally posted in Usenet groups, and subsequently collected in open websites. These written works are almost certainly legal protected speech within the United States, which is paradoxical in that these stories are often grossly violent or even homicidal in their content. To put the paradox at its simplest, a photograph of a naked five year old girl happily eating an ice cream on the beach may be criminalized, even if the child is shown accompanied by doting parents, but it is quite legal to publish a detailed fantasy about the rape, torture and murder of the same child. To give an idea of the content of some of these tales, the following represents a selection of the new stories listed on one extreme content site a few years ago, together with the editor's summaries of the themes offered in each case (NC is non-consensual, "scat" is scatological, "ws" means water sports or urination, snuff means killing):

14 Year Old Avenger by brisko65 (Pedo, Bi sex, Scat, WS, Vomit, Animal, Torture, Spanking, Snuff, Incest)
 A Hunt by ***** (Rape, Torture, Cannibalism, Snuff)
 A Little Inheritance by S.o.S. (Incest-daddy/daughter, Pedo, Oral)
 A Night in the Kids Room by S.o.S. (Pedo/toddler, Incest-brothers/sisters, Oral, Anal, Gangbang)
 Amanda the Slut Episode 1 by sex freak (Preteen, NC, S/M, Suggested snuff)
 Anne by Kinnik (Rape, Pedo, Torture, Snuff)
 B&B 2-Dad visits Kids by Chucketal (Incest-father/son, Pedo)
 Baby in the Arcade by S.o.S. (Drug use, Pedo, Toddler rape)
 Baby Sex is the Best - Part II by Evil Dad (Child rape & abuse, Pedo, Scat, WS)
 Children's Ward by xtight (Pedo, Anal)
 Do You like my Bottom Daddy? by UK Snowy (Oral incest-father/daughter, Pedo)
 Fucking in the Family - The Tradition Continues by Lund Pasand (Incest-whole family, Pedo, First time)
 Nigger Lust by N-lover (Hetero sex, Pedo, Racist, Interracial, Scat, WS)
 Off the Bone by UK Snowy (Rape, Pedo)
 The Most Perfect 10 by ***** (Bi sex, Pedo, Fisting)

By no means all story groups are anything like so bizarre or repulsive in their content, and this is avowedly an extreme site. Nevertheless, the predominance of underage themes is notable. Of 44 new stories listed at this site in April 2000, no less than twenty included "pedo" (pedophile) or "preteen" as one of their subject keywords.

2.The available material is vast in scale, and new material is coming on line more or less daily

Just how easy it is to find these materials needs to be stressed. Both the price and quality of illegal commodities are greatly affected by the relative success of law

enforcement intervention. When for instance police and customs are waging a particularly successful war against the cocaine trade, making major seizures, the price of cocaine on American streets rises steeply, while the quality of the substance being retailed falls dramatically. Conversely, weaker police responses are reflected in bargain basement prices and higher purity at street level. Applying this analogy to child pornography produces disturbing results. In the mid-1970s, a child porn magazine containing thirty or so pictures might cost ten dollars in an American city. Today, the entire contents of that same magazine are available through the Internet for free, as are tens of thousands of other more recent counterparts. A month or so of free web-surfing could easily accumulate a child porn library of several thousand images. The only payments or charges involved would be the standard fees for computer connect time, and the cost of storage materials. Prices in the child porn world have not just fallen, they have all but been eliminated. "Quality" has also improved immeasurably, in terms of the range of materials on offer: arguably, the images now coming on line are becoming ever more explicit and hard-core. Applying the drug analogy suggests that the role of law enforcement in regulating supply is approximately zero. I want to keep this problem in perspective, since the actual numbers of hardcore traffickers are not vast: we are probably talking about a subculture numbered in the tens of thousands worldwide, together with a significant number of casual browsers, but even so, the scale of the enterprise they support is depressing, as is the constant infusion of new materials.

To put this in context, I would suggest that the typical major collector would possess upwards of forty or fifty thousand items, videos and images, though collections do run into the 100,000-plus range. This is worth remembering when we read about child porn arrests of some individual who has perhaps fifty or a hundred such images.

3. The child porn subculture on the internet is not based on any close-knit hierarchy, but rather involves a network of individuals who probably do not know each other's names. Though networks certainly exist, they are numerous and quite distinct from each other. There is no single "child porn mafia"

In the countless board discussions on security, one recurrent theme is that of "safety in numbers", in other words, that porn users could in theory be tracked down, but the sheer volume of traffic makes this next to impossible. In a discussion of the wisdom of using [abpep-t](#), the child porn guru "Godfather Corleone" advised that

There are millions of people using newsgroups, and tens of thousands of them do visit [abpep-t](#) on a very regular base. Therefore the likelihood the server would want to spend time tracing someone down for visiting a newsgroup they are responsible for providing people with, is rather small.

Such comments raise the difficult but inevitable question of just how large a community we are dealing with, and the Godfather's remark about "tens of thousands" is not only plausible, but perhaps modest.

At a given moment on an average day, the main flagship discussion board contained contributions from about sixty or so pseudonymous contributors, though that is only a snapshot, and the total contributing during a whole day is considerably larger. Given the delicate subject matter, the figure for "lurkers" (people who observe but do not contribute) is likely to be far larger than for typical Usenet groups. At a minimum, the Maestro community certainly ran into several thousand. A useful analogy may be provided by other less popular child porn sites which record the number of hits for each posting. The volume of hits largely depends on the plausibility that the original message does in fact lead to a genuine CP site, but where the poster is well-known and trusted, the number of hits is usually between two and four thousand, and may well approach ten thousand. Of course, a person might visit a particular site only sporadically, or

concentrate only on one board to the exclusion of others. Still, that provides an absolute minimum for the size of the core CP community on the Internet, those who frequent at least one of the various boards on a regular basis: we have already seen that egroups sites with child porn content can run to several thousand members. Confirming this scale, G-Man, one of the most experienced contributors to the flagship board, wrote that "To each of my posts I get approx 1,000 to 5,000 visitors to my site (nearly 90,000 in the past five weeks!)"

Gauging the scale of the pedophile audience is a frequent talking point on the boards. One recent posting ran as follows:

When you think about it, just how many lola lovers do we have here, maybe? 10,000 15,000 visit this board, what about other boards, and what of the others that can not find this and other boards? I have seen some of the log files from some of the net's search engines, and the top search is childporn and all the Lola lovers that don't have a computer, there must be millions out there some where ;).

Others agreed:

*Tomcat> I had a site posted here with a counter that showed approx. 3,000 access after 4 hours, before the site was shut down. Extrapolate this to a whole day could be 18,000 only from this board at one day. And there are many more surfing in news (probable ratio 1:10 or more) and other boards. The number is constantly increasing as more people get access to the net. There was about half of them about half a year ago, and the increase itself is increasing. So no need to feel alone. I guess the ratio of posters and lookers on this board is about 1:100 or more.... That's the reason why I'm always stating that busting them all would hurt national economics.

* Zep > 12 months ago ***'s site, which had links to BBS's on its front page, was getting over 30,000 hits a day before the counter was taken off. *** BBS its 'finest hour' (when this BBS went down for about 3 days about 6 months ago), was getting over 50,000 hits a day over this period. No, we are not alone in this world.

I stress, though, that we are dealing with core activists, since casual browsers might be much more numerous.

Putting the different boards together, I would guess that the core population as of year 2000 should be counted somewhere in the range of perhaps fifty to a hundred thousand individuals, though that is a very loose figure. It is also a global number: perhaps a third of these are located in the US. Given the phenomenal expansion of the Internet since the mid-1990s, we can assume that this figure is changing very rapidly, and certainly expanding. While some old hands send farewell messages explaining that their interests have moved on to other things, almost every day on the boards we find first postings by recently arrived "newbies."

It is even more difficult to assess the demographics of the audience for this (or any) board. In many situations on the Internet, people tend to assume personas which are not necessarily their own, and in an illegal setting like this there are powerful reasons to affect a different identity. A general impression, though, suggests that the vast majority of contributors to the board fall into the category of males, aged between perhaps 25 and 55, mainly white but with a sizable Asian minority. This would certainly account for the vast majority of recorded arrests. My impression may be false in a number of ways, as several major users at least claim to be much younger than this would suggest, aged in their late teens. Given the distribution of computer skills across the population, a large cohort of teens and young adults would be quite predictable.

Nor can we say much about participants' regional or occupational backgrounds, except to say that both are highly diverse. This is indicated by the membership of the Wonderland Club, which as we will see, was a closed network of elite traffickers broken up in 1998. The Wonderland group included some two hundred members in over forty countries, including the US, Great Britain, Australia, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Finland, and Portugal. American members included "an engineer from Portland, Maine, a scientist in New Britain, Conn. Other suspected members lived in sleepy towns like Broken Arrow, Oklahoma; Lawrence, Kansas; and Kennebunk, Maine.... A suspect living in a trailer park in St. Charles, Mo., was arrested after agents found, along with child porn, firearms and a stash of the black powder used to make bombs. According to Customs agents, a law student in New York City threw his hard drive into a neighbor's yard." Of the first eight members charged in the UK, we find three computer consultants, unsurprisingly in view of the level of expertise required for this world, but there were also two taxi drivers, and three men who were described as unemployed.

Gender represents another controversial point. Messages are often posted by individuals identifying themselves as women, and these claim that far more adult women are sexually interested in young girls than is commonly realized. One of the major posters on the boards over the last year or two bears the handle "Goddess." Goddess's real identity is controversial. Asked to speculate on the appearance of contributors, one contributor wrote that he saw "Goddess as a rebellious schoolgirl with holes in her jeans (probably she is a he and 50 years old)." Still, lending credibility to claims of female involvement, there are documented cases of girls and women being involved in making and distributing electronic child porn, although I presume they represent a small minority of activity. Generally, we can safely assume that the bulk of board traffic is the work of white men in their thirties and forties.

4.Many of those involved in the subculture are strikingly "normal". This has critical implications for the potential for deterrence.

The reasons why adults become sexually interested in children are much debated, but given that this enthusiasm does exist, it is not difficult to see why it should find such a friendly environment on the Internet, with its anonymity and its ability to transcend jurisdictional borders. We can also appreciate how novices should find it so easy to be drawn into the subculture, and once involved, to absorb its values and practices. In many ways, the seemingly aberrant world of child porn on the Net represents not a total break with approved mainstream ways and mores, but their extension into illegality.

Some degree of tolerance of illegality is common to Internet culture in general. The whole world of electronic communication has developed so rapidly that rules and laws are poorly formulated, and it is common and approved practice for computer users to violate regulations. People who would never dream of committing larceny or burglary in the "real" material world think nothing of hacking an Internet site, using a purloined password, or copying software illegally, while a widespread opinion holds that copyright rules simply do not exist on the Net. If something works and produces benefit without harming an individual (as opposed to a faceless corporation) then it is acceptable and approved. Even if technically criminal, misdeeds on computers are likely to be viewed by many as pranks rather than heinous offenses, and this approach is largely shared by the media. When, as happens from time to time, a hacker succeeds in changing the website of a police agency so that it suddenly depicts hard-core pornographic material, the news media tend to report the story as quirky or humorous, rather than a dreadful crime (sabotaging or closing down a popular site is a different matter). The idea of seeking forbidden material on the Internet is natural and even socially approved, so that the heroic deeds of hackers and outlaw computer wizards are the subject of a hundred Hollywood films. When some years ago an Israeli teenager hacked into important US government

sites, that nation's then Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, offered the Americans a cursory apology, but used the incident at home to boast of Israel's technological prowess and sense of adventure. Conversely, authorities who try and prevent these efforts are reactionaries, stuffed shirts, control freaks: the enemy.

Occasionally, the fervently libertarian ethos of the Internet can extend even to something as condemned as child porn. In a curious case in 1998, the manager of a small Californian ISP discovered a child porn web site, which she duly reported to authorities, and then tried herself to gain more information about the site's operators. She soon encountered a fiercely critical reaction from other Internet users, including a hacking attack that shut down her site. The issue was less tolerance of child porn as such than her apparent vigilantism, and her willingness to draw officialdom into what should ideally be the self-regulating world of the Net.

On the Internet, rules are made to be broken. This attitude is facilitated by the user's psychological sense that whatever occurs in a computer transaction takes place within his or her own private space. Although one is visiting a site based in Singapore, the individual is viewing it on a screen at home in London or in an office in Los Angeles, and it is intuitively obvious that this is where the transaction is really occurring. One can after all interrupt the process at any time to get up and make coffee or wash the car. The attitude seems to be that it is my home, my desk, my computer, and my business what I do with it. This is one reason for the ferocious opposition to schemes to tax commercial transactions on-line: why should the state of California, say, be able to charge sales tax on business which is self-evidently done on a desktop in Connecticut? This sense of private space also promotes a sense of invulnerability: it is difficult to take seriously all the jeremiads about the lack of privacy on the Net when the user feels that he or she is pursuing a personal interest at home, with no one apparently watching. Even in the case of child pornography, the absolute legal prohibition on private use is not as widely understood as one may think. In a surprising survey some years ago, Kimberly McCabe questioned a sample of citizens who attended law enforcement-sponsored crime-watch meetings in two cities in the US South, people who might be presumed to have some interest in criminal justice issues. Even so, a third of her sample agreed with the statement that "Downloading child pornography from a newsgroup is legal." Just under eight percent believed that "Possession of sexual material involving a minor is legal," and the same proportion felt that "viewing computer-generated children in sexual materials is okay."

Also making the child porn subculture more apparently acceptable is the lack of overtly deviant behaviors or markers associated with the activity. Participants do not assume an overtly deviant role in the way that they would if they joined a gang or cult: they need not shave their heads, wear special clothing, or attend a meeting every week or even every year, nor need they relocate to a compound or commune. Entering the child porn culture might mean assuming or affecting a deviant identity, but one that has no physical manifestations, or which need continue after one has switched off the computer. This particular subculture is one which can be joined without physically moving into a strange or dangerous-seeming environment, a biker bar, sex club or drug supermarket, though in practice, using the computer at home can lead to far more perilous consequences than any of these places.

It is useful to compare the process of accessing child porn on the Internet today, which is absolutely illegal, with the semi-tolerated matter of purchasing a magazine of this sort in an urban bookstore in 1975. Although the bookstore patron was running little or no risk of official sanction, it was self-evident from the surroundings and the social context that the purchaser was in deviant territory, both physically and metaphorically. The store was likely in a "bad part of town," in a physical setting perhaps not far removed from active prostitution and drug use, and not somewhere where one would wish to be seen. In contrast, the modern computer user is, in every sense, at home with child

pornography. Today, there appears to be no entry fee to the subculture, no risk or commitment, and that is perhaps the most dangerous delusion in the whole process.

In many ways, too, child porn users are extrapolating from the socially commonplace. On the Internet, sexual material and adult pornography is extremely abundant, and generally tolerated, despite the continuing protests of conservative moralists. Pornography sites are well frequented, and little social stigma attaches to seeking such material through improper means, for instance by using computers in libraries or schools. Such misdeeds are often the subject of humor rather than serious condemnation, even when the users are young teenagers. A person accessing sex sites from a workplace computer might technically be violating corporate rules, but according to most views, is no more criminal than a colleague who takes home pens or paperclips. Many porn sites also “push the envelope” in terms of the strange and perverse practices which they depict, including sadomasochism, bestiality and toilet functions. Occasionally, too, amateur sites in which posters offer home-made pictures of wives and (adult) girlfriends will throw in a soft-core image of a pubescent girl, and the responses suggest that this action is seen only as mildly naughty, perhaps a form of tweaking authority. Seeking bizarre or shocking sexual images on the Internet does not of itself contradict deeply held social values, especially when - as it appears - the searching is done in private.

5. Dealers, traffickers, consumers and collectors of child porn may or may not be personally engaged in actual molestation. From the nature of the evidence, we are over-informed about those individuals who actually do molest, and who are probably not typical of the whole community. That point is not intended as a defense of the community, but is rather pointed at the best means of combating them.

The actual relationship between child porn and child abuse is open to debate, no matter how firmly such a linkage has come to be viewed as a social orthodoxy. The difficulty is that solid data on the question are all but unobtainable, and official figures are highly suspect. To illustrate the problems with available evidence, let us assume that ninety percent of child porn consumers never become involved in abuse or molestation, and confine their illegal activities to merely viewing and collecting images. I have no idea what the actual figure is, but as I will suggest, nor does anybody else. These individuals are extremely unlikely to find their way into the criminal justice system, unless they attempt to trade images, or barring accidental finds on their hard drives. Conversely, the minority of users who are also molesters are far more likely to be arrested and prosecuted: they might try to seduce youngsters online, or else abduct or molest the children of friends or neighbors. For whatever reason, the police will probably apprehend them, and will discover child porn collections upon searching their belongings. In consequence, the ten percent of CP consumers who are also abusers will make up a sizable (and wholly disproportionate) majority of child porn arrests. This allows anti-porn activists to state, quite accurately, that “in the vast majority of child porn arrests, the individual involved is also found to be a molester:” listeners are encouraged to draw the (unwarranted) conclusion that child pornographers are necessarily abusers, and perhaps vice versa. In fact, the statistics establish no causal link between child porn materials and actual behavior, any more than the similar observation that most sex criminals also enjoy adult porn. The statement that “Most rapists watch porn videos” cannot be translated as “Most people who watch porn videos become rapists.” Conceivably, perhaps ninety or ninety-five percent of child porn fans commit abuse, or perhaps the figure is closer to five or ten percent: the reality may just be unknowable.

Official statistics (arrests and prosecutions) tell us mainly about those inept and seemingly atypical offenders who fail to take the obvious precautions, and who get caught. If for instance we wanted to study the child porn world from media or official

sources, we might collect media reports of investigations and arrests of the sort which appear regularly in most advanced nations. Over the last few years, regional newspapers in the United States have reported hundreds of such stories, involving all sorts of individuals, including priests, politicians, police officers and executives, as well as ordinary citizens. Such stories mainly hit the headlines when they involve teachers or others working with youth, but celebrities are also newsworthy. But such instances represent only the tip of an iceberg. To quote one of the gurus of the electronic child porn world, "Godfather Corleone,"

Looking at the enormous amount of lolita-lovers out there, very, very few get arrested, the opposite of what most newbies [novices] seem to believe is the case, those that actually do get arrested, do not get arrested for downloading or uploading to ~~abp~~ or visiting sites. Most people that get arrested do so for the following reasons: 1. they had to repair their PC when those repairing the PC discovered pics on the harddrive. 2. they have been trading thru e-mail. 3. they have been using ICQ / IRC [chat-lines] for lolita business.

Both trading and chat-lines are so deadly because one is dealing with faceless individuals who often prove to be police officers masquerading either as fellow enthusiasts, or as underage girls: avoiding such chat facilities is a primary rule offered to novices in this underworld. Another participant on a child porn bulletin board, "Granpa Bob," claimed that recent arrests in the US could be categorized as follows: "It was basically 75% caught e-mail trading with an LEA [law enforcement agency], 20% by computer repair shops, and 1% caught by either association with known traders or by do-gooders reporting them." It is very rare for individuals to be arrested for posting child porn, and virtually unheard of to be caught "just looking."

In the vast majority of cases which come to court, child pornographers are caught for another unrelated offense such as molestation, which leads to the serendipitous discovery of a collection of images. Though no case is wholly typical, a fairly representative example involves the man in Revere, Massachusetts, who was arrested after a young boy complained that he had been videotaped while having sex. When police searched the suspect's premises, they found four thousand computerized images of underage boys, as well as a hundred indecent videotapes. In a case in Northern California in 2000, child porn charges surfaced as an incidental element in a suspected murder investigation. Even where porn alone is the major issue at stake, offenders have almost gone out of their way to draw attention to themselves, for instance by viewing illegal materials on computers in public libraries! As long as enthusiasts maintain their interests solely within the virtual realm, observing pictures but not seeking to collect or apply the electronic fantasies in the world of lived action, they appear to be safe from detection. The virtual world genuinely is protected territory.

By definition, studies of arrests or convictions only reveal the failures within the electronic child porn world. The cases which come to light fulfil a kind of Darwinian function, since they remove from the subculture those least fit to adapt and survive, and thus ensure the efficiency of those who remain. Nor can figures for arrests tell us much about the scale or the geography of electronic trafficking. If a hundred men were suddenly arrested for computer child porn offenses in Los Angeles, that would not necessarily show that that city was a particular center for this activity, but would rather indicate the interests and technical abilities of law enforcement agencies in that area. Perhaps such a campaign would further reveal that child pornographers in this region are singularly neglectful of security precautions. It is a truism, but criminal statistics measure official behavior, and nothing more.

6. The child porn underworld is absolutely multinational and global

A glimpse at any of the boards will demonstrate the thoroughly globalized nature of the child pornography trade. The whole child porn underworld survives and flourishes by exploiting differences between the legal systems of different countries, between countries that have radically different attitudes to the whole area of childhood sexuality, or which observe marginal distinctions over the age of consent or the definitions of obscenity. Through the early 1980s, child pornography magazines were still legally and publicly accessible in the Netherlands, posing severe difficulties for police in other European nations, who fought hard against importation. Though hard-core child porn largely moved underground by the 1990s, several countries retained much more relaxed attitudes about child sexuality, which affected their views of what could legitimately be portrayed on the Web. While US law strictly prohibits all depictions of nude or suggestively clad children, European countries tend to be more liberal about showing simple nudity in a non-sexual context, as in a nudist camp. Nudist magazines like the German Jung und Frei and the French Jeune et Naturel circulated freely in Europe through the late 1990s. At least until recently, there was no reason why a Swedish server could not present a picture of a group of naked ten year old girls on a beach playing volleyball, say, though this picture would be strictly contraband when it was received on American soil.

In addition, many of the hard-core images circulated on the Net are the incidental products of "sex tourism." These portray white men having sex with young Asian or Latina girls, and are presumably souvenirs taken by sex tourists visiting Third World countries over the last decade or two: Thailand, Sri Lanka and Indonesia are the main Asian venues, while the Latin American pictures could be from any of a dozen countries. These pictures are distinguished from others of the genre by the fact that the men in question rarely attempt to conceal their faces, presumably secure in the knowledge that they were committing no crime under local laws: as we will see, the legal environment has since changed to make such neglect of security precautions very risky indeed.

The boards are cosmopolitan. While the major sites were (as of 2001) based in Japan, most users are from North America and Europe, and the main working languages are English and German. Specific debates may proceed in a variety of other languages, including Spanish, Swedish, Dutch, Portuguese, and indeed most of the European languages. There are exchanges in tongues like Turkish, Tagalog and Guarani, and other languages that I cannot identify, though I can at least recognize all the European languages. In a typical board exchange between, say, five or six individuals, two may be based in the US, two in Europe, one in Malaysia and one in Japan: there is no way for the casual observer to discover this. Indications might be provided by linguistic peculiarities, for example the use of English or Australian spelling or slang, such as "I'm off to the pub for a pint," "colour" for "color," or "knickers" for girls' underwear, while complainers are "whingers." Equally likely, participants in a quite different nation might be affecting these habits in order to divert attention from their real location, just as the often dreadful spelling and grammar found in messages may be a ruse to feign ignorance of English.

Deception of this kind is rampant on the boards. When listing survival tips for subculture members, one board participant included the advice, "Write in English in this board and never in your own mother language, if you have one. Don't speak about very personal things, which could help to identify you after collecting some more informations." The phrasing of the second sentence ("more informations") implies that the poster, "Thor," is not a native speaker, but he might well be an American or Canadian pretending to employ foreign usage. In another instance, "Rocky" quoted a story from a Detroit newspaper, and concluded, "Is any one heard of this news and which country this Detroit belong to?" I have no idea if this is genuine ignorance, or ingenious camouflage. "Darkstar" remarks, "don't forget the wise ones who have been here for years know all this, and be telling you they live in the UK or Belize, Canada, whilst they really in Cali[ifornia]."

Similar caution is advised for those making pornographic images, since actual locations might well be revealed by incidental objects in the background. In one case, the maker of the notorious *Marion* series was detected because the setting was recognized as in Germany, leading federal police in that nation to circulate Marion's photograph. Responding to this arrest, one board member wrote "This case is a good example what not to do when posting. Many people look alike on a world wide basis, however when you show locations and identifiable clothing to verify identity you are asking for trouble." It would not be beyond the capacity of a pornographer to litter a room with magazines in some foreign language to conceal the fact that the shoot was actually occurring in, say, Illinois. The need for such cosmopolitanism is constantly stressed: when asked for the best means of securing a truly anonymous e-mail account, "Helper" wrote "Do not use sites like Hotmail. Best to go to some boolah-boolah country in Africa or Asia, or sites in the ".nu" neighborhood [Nauru]. Never your own country, as this only makes legal issues easier for LEA's." Darkstar advised, "Just use good proxies, make sure they have nym status, and operate out of territories like Tibet, China, Taiwan, Russia, Singapore, Mongolia etc. And alter the time domain in your computer, this is an ID parameter in conjunction with your isp IP that ties you down."

In addition, the typical posting of a porn website indicates a total neglect of frontiers: the site is posted by an American on a European server, announced on a Japanese server, with passwords posted at a site notionally based in Nauru or Tonga, while those downloading the pictures might be from fifty countries. One would need a thorough education in international law to understand the problems in legal jurisdiction which it poses: what crimes have been committed, where, and what agencies might conceivably be involved? And where exactly has this occurred, except in the emerging nation of Cyberia? Though the whole transaction originates on one computer in California, the complete story has literally unfolded across the globe.

Moreover, outside western Europe, large areas of the world make virtually no pretense at combating underage sex or child pornography, and from the nature of the web, there need be only one bandit country to sabotage all international arrangements. In fact, there are dozens of such wayward states, which pay little attention to suppressing child pornography or, much more serious, child prostitution. Former Communist countries tend to be lax in this regard, and much material prohibited elsewhere stems quite freely from Russia, Poland and the Czech Republic. This trend reflects the extreme weakness of law enforcement in those societies, as well as a common desire to break away from Communist austerity.

The upsurge of Russian and East European content has revolutionized the content of the child porn world, Nudist sites are prevalent, while many pictures emanating from Russia are unashamedly pornographic, and often extremely hard-core. They are immensely popular because they depict subjects in contemporary settings, and thus form a dramatic contrast to much of the older materials, which largely depicted either contemporary Asian girls, or Euro-American children in conspicuously dated 1970s settings. Also, and crucially for many fans, the subjects are white: a distaste or even loathing for non-white subject is a recurrent theme in exchanges. Some astute fraudsters exploit the Russian reputation for corruption by advertising child porn sites with Russian domain names, that is, the suffix ".ru." Foreigners avidly flock to such sites believing they will thereby gain access to utterly uncensored materials, but they are often disappointed, and some ru sites are among the most notorious examples of bogus and deceptive advertising. They offer tantalizing samples, take money, but deliver nothing. In passing, it is one of the great ironies of modern history that the hammer and sickle emblem now often serves as a symbol of extreme hedonism, and provides a logo for the hardest of hard core web-sites. Czech sites are also popular. As an enthusiastic board participant wrote in 2000: "Czech Republic liberal! You can search, view and store pedo material without any penalty. For trading is maximum penalty one year." This country is a major source of

images of nude young boys, though as in Scandinavia, depicting sexual activity in such contexts is strictly taboo.

The child porn boards offer much advice on how to find countries where underage sex is readily available, and where child pornography can easily be obtained or, indeed, manufactured. The lax morality prevailing in former Communist nations is a common theme:

* RaNDom > If you guys are tired of the US why don't you move out I've lived here in Siberia for the past year now and it's absolute Loli-Heaven! You can't go wrong with the former Soviet Union. Or if it's a little out of your budget then consider Mexico. For a few dollars (not pesos) the cops'll look the other way. It's where I used to live.

* Cross > I hear Russia is becoming the epicenter of Loliland. Such information in general should help everybody in matters such as proxies, setting up sites, and many more.

* Greasey > in Russia be prepared to get mugged and maybe even killed. Russia has no law now, the Russian mafia runs the whole country

* TEST_ONE > if you have enough money, people at the [Moscow] Crime Dept. will drive you to the girls

In answer to a question about one photo series, G-Man replied,

Looks Rumanian to me... In some places there you can just go to an orphanage and give the adults some money (not a lot - many have not been paid their wages in years!) and you can have your way with some of the kids... The only thing is - the children have never even seen a bath and the beds have never been cleaned. They also shave the heads of the kids, so you'll have to do a bald girl.

After a decade of extreme laissez faire, some east European countries may finally be undergoing a moral reaction. Czech laissez-faire seems to be weakening as the country becomes ever more closely integrated into the European economic and political order, and there have been major crackdowns in recent months. Poland too has recently passed stringent anti-porn legislation, which if enforced would suppress most adult soft-core material, but it remains to be seen how far such action would extend to the Internet. Nor is there much likelihood that countries like Russia or Rumania will return to anything like Stalinist moral discipline in the foreseeable future, or will succeed in regulating their thriving organized crime enterprises.

Despite the attention paid to the former Communist world and Japan, most "bandit" countries are however found in the Third World nations of Asia and Latin America, where westerners can readily find underage sex, as well as visual depictions of such activity. In coming years, these nations may also host the electronic servers central to the child porn world.

In 1999, one correspondent asked the Maestro community, "Generally speaking - Where do you think the best place to travel to? Does anyone want to come along?" He received numerous replies, most highlighting the Third World:

* Ms Knickerworthy > Israel is a good place for pristine preteen arse... If you're not fussy about skin colour or AIDS then try Fiji, Bali, Jamaica, and similar Third World holes.

* jo > Contrary to popular belief the Philippines is still one of the best places to go but you have to be very cautious. Stay away from the tourist areas. The back streets of Manila are a good place to walk around mid afternoon. People are very friendly, and very poor.

* Pedro Phylle > As suggested above, stick with the poorer, undeveloped countries such as Latin America, Balkans or preferably S.E. Asia. In Bangkok, go to a red light district named Patpong.... Very lax laws and you don't have to worry about getting mugged or killed. To be really safe, talk to a cabbie and some of them will have a photo album of lovelies. Take your pick and he will deliver to your hotel room.

* Soldo > By and large, Northern Europe including Scandinavia is very anti-pedo, Holland seems somewhat more tolerant than its neighbors. Southern Europe is more relaxed and a lot of the old Eastern European states don't have many laws in place - and if they do then don't enforce them because of lack of funds. Thailand seems to enforce laws only for the purpose of satisfying western govts, but if you're the one caught then look out. Most other S.E. Asian and Third world countries have far more pressing needs for their funds than stamping out loli material etc.

The easy availability of child sex in many third world nations means that pornographic images are readily obtained, and continuing levels of poverty in these countries suggests that this problem will not be eliminated for many years.

7.The child porn underworld demonstrates extraordinarily high levels of technical capacity, probably far above that of most of the law enforcement agencies attempting to combat them. Often, investigations and convictions grow out of chance discoveries.

Already by the late 1980s, pedophiles and child pornography enthusiasts were among the most experienced and knowledgeable members of the computerized communication world, so they were magnificently placed to benefit from the many technological leaps of the next few years. Operating websites was a vastly easier matter than the chore of running traditional BBS's, and offered the virtues (and the dangers) of a much wider audience. Instead of trading between a few dozen enthusiasts in a particular city or region, it was now feasible to gain instant access to materials emanating from other continents, and from countries with very different legal environments. Moreover, as computers themselves became faster, with far larger memories and faster processors, it became possible to store and transmit much more complex information, including large numbers of high-resolution color images, and movies. The child porn subculture on the Internet now began a boom that shows no sign of waning.

There are today veterans whose careers in circulating electronic child porn span twenty years or more. These dinosaurs occasionally reminisce about the primitive ages: "Hey, I remember things before there was abpep-t. Zmodem 8088 PC, 20 Meg hard drive with RGB monitor, when there wasn't even jpeg's, only gif's. ... Its just amazing how things have changed." Another veteran recalls, "Twenty years ago I had a 300 baud modem, 16k memory and a 180k floppy drive. Didn't even consider a picture. My first HD cost about 500\$US for 20megs in about 1984. It was about '87 before I had pictures with a 1 meg video card and SVGA." "Master Blaster," a venerated name on the child porn boards, wrote in 2000 that "I have been using it before most of you even knew the Net existed. I was online using a PDP-11 mainframe in 1980. We were hooked up to the **** intranet and in turn they were connected to the world via government and schools." Attacking a rival who was trying to appropriate his nickname, "Zapper" declared in 2000 that "I have had this nic since 1987 and will continue to use it." We must be struck by the difficulty of tracking down people who have remained at liberty in such a dangerous environment for so many years. Sending police officers on intensive two or three week courses to learn about the Internet is simply not going to equip investigators adequately to confront such accumulated expertise.

8. The attitudes expressed by the child porn elite to law enforcement are so contemptuous as to be sobering. What the dealers and collectors are really afraid of is private vigilantes, “militias” and white hat hackers.

I quote a typical opinion from one of the elite figures within the CP underworld:

In fact, extremely few persons actually get arrested and sent to jail, that is a myth really. There are thousands of vhs's out there, many from 1999, thousands of people present at this bbs [bulletin board] and millions of loli-lovers in various countries, yet you only see a couple of persons getting arrested, and the media writes about it like they have been busting Al Capone.

Experienced members of the subculture have little but contempt for the capacities of “LEA,” that is, law enforcement. In one exchange on the boards, a poster suggested an ingenious tactic which might in theory serve to entrap many child porn fans, and asked whether police were likely to deploy it. Responses were sarcastically dismissive:

*Godfather Corleone > I don't really think the LEA work that way as I'm sure they have better things to do which they know are more efficient. For instance, trying to catch newbies trading per e-mail or newbies visiting IRC etc.

*Kidflash > LEA is not smart enough or have time to do such things.

9. Massive technical and legal obstacles prevent any easy solution to the undoubted problem posed by child porn. It is difficult to think of new laws that would make advances against the problem, which must involve close international collaboration.

From the outset, we have to realize what goals are achievable, and the total elimination of electronic child porn simply may not be within the bounds of possibility. That does not mean that we have to learn to accept or live with the problem, and we might well achieve a massive reduction of production and availability, on the lines of what was accomplished in the 1980s. The great majority of child porn users are rational enough to be deterred, if the proper methods are applied. If we could achieve, say, a 90 or 95 percent reduction of availability, that would be a massive victory in its own right. The fact that some residual trade will continue indefinitely should not provide grounds for ever-increasing encroachments on the liberties of law-abiding “netizens.”

To illustrate just how intractable the child porn problem is, let us imagine a means by which this material could be removed or destroyed entirely. Purely as a fantasy, let us suggest that the Internet should simply be prohibited, along with private communication over computer networks. Even if a hypothetical government did prohibit computer networks, it still would not eliminate child porn. Such a ban could only be enforced by computers in the hands of police or security forces, and many precedents indicate that these government employees would surreptitiously be sharing pornographic images. If there are computers, there will be computerized child pornography.

To take a marginally less outrageous solution, consider the experience of China, which like many authoritarian nations, faces a fundamental paradox in its attitudes to Internet technology. The Chinese want the massive economic benefits of the Net, and also realize the military implications of having a computer-literate populace. The ongoing cold war between the People's Republic and Taiwan is increasingly fought in the form of hacker attacks on each other's electronic installations. At the same time, the PRC's rulers are nervous about the democratic implications of the Internet, the ability of ordinary citizens to form political or cultural groupings online, and to circulate information critical of the state. In response to this dilemma, the Chinese government has ordained that all Internet traffic must pass through two portals, both run by the state: the authorities strictly limit what sites can be accessed, and keep detailed records of who is visiting what site.

All ISPs and Internet users have to register with authorities. Anyone using encryption technology is required to notify a government agency of that fact. Other countries with comparably strict laws are Singapore, Saudi Arabia and Vietnam, and one state has taken the principle of control to its logical extent: "Burma [Myanmar] has taken the strongest measures by outlawing the use of the Internet and making ownership of an unregistered computer with networking capabilities illegal."

With such a model, much child pornography could indeed be kept off the Internet, and its aficionados rounded up or terrorized into inactivity. The difficulty is that a Western nation would find such a solution unacceptable from a myriad different perspectives, not least because it would hamstring the whole Internet, and introduce controls which most members of a democratic society would regard as utterly intolerable. But would it even work? China has an age-long tradition of technological innovation, while successive generations of Chinese dissidents over long centuries have devised ever more imaginative means of outwitting repressive governments, and distributing their own propaganda. Not surprisingly, the latest restrictions do not appear too burdensome in practice. Chinese computer users access forbidden sites by means of proxy servers, of which there are far too many to permit concerted government action. Users also make extensive use of Internet cafes rather than private machines, so even if authorities note the fact that an unregulated site has been accessed, the odds of detecting a specific individual are slight. The Chinese experience neatly illustrates the remark of Internet pioneer John Gilmore that "the Internet interprets censorship as damage and routes around it." Once again, too, we face the issue of "who guards the guards?" We may wonder what frivolous, decadent and obscene websites are regularly frequented by the guardians of electronic morality in socialist China.

While a Chinese (or Burmese) solution is inconceivable in the West, it is scarcely less Orwellian than some of the ideas which have been floated, however speculatively. Given the nature of the child porn trade, the only policies which might conceivably attempt eradication would involve wide-ranging surveillance of Web traffic by official agencies. This effort might be carried out in a directed way under the approval of court warrants, or else randomly through general fishing expeditions undertaken against the sort of people thought likely to offend in this particular way. Yet as the Chinese example indicates, even such an intolerable set of burdens probably would not eliminate the underlying issue.

If the traffic cannot altogether be eliminated, the next question is how far it can be detected and combated, with a view to suppressing the bulk of the trade, and ending the present easy availability of this material. And how far can this be achieved without destroying the privacy rights of law-abiding Net users? When considering this, it is useful to recall just how far the Net has already eroded privacy, and the resentment which such intrusions have already caused. In reaction to current threats, legislators have come under pressure to enact safeguards from electronic snooping, at exactly the same time that the perceived need to combat cybercrime encourages the same law-makers to enhance official surveillance powers. The result is a strange and fast-moving struggle of priorities, between what might be the irreconcilable values of individual privacy and public security.

The biggest single problem facing police is simply recognizing and understanding the nature of the child porn world on the Net. Despite all the enforcement efforts of recent years, it is still remarkably easy for any reasonably discreet person to pursue this highly illegal conduct indefinitely, so long as obvious traps are avoided. This does not mean that police have been lackadaisical or incompetent, still less that their hands have been tied by legislators. Hitherto, law enforcement agencies, and their political masters, have just had a very poor idea of the organization and mechanisms of the child porn subculture, and above all, its critical institutions, like the newsgroups and bulletin boards. To take a glaring example, given the public loathing of child porn and the support that

could be mobilized against it, it is incredible that virtually nobody outside the subculture itself ever heard of abpep-t: the name barely appears in searches of media databases.

In observing this neglect, we might think of an analogy with illegal drugs, in which there is both a supply side (manufacturers and importers) and a demand side (street-level users). Looking at current efforts against child porn, it is almost as if anti-drug policing was solely confined to arresting users and addicts, while ignoring organized rings and suppliers. In this fantasy world, no attention would be given to tracing the origin of supplies of (say) cocaine, and the assumption would be that the substance “just grew”, or perhaps appeared naturally in neighborhood gardens. Police would remain blissfully unaware of potent names like “Colombia.” Such an approach might result in numerous arrests and convictions, but it could never make a dent in illicit drug supplies: nor does a pure demand-side approach work for child porn. This needs stressing because the occasional attempts to outline anti-child porn strategies concentrate entirely on intimidating the ordinary users. Filling the prisons with child porn users is as likely to be ineffective as the zero-tolerance drug strategy which has incarcerated hundreds of thousands of small time consumers, combining minimal deterrence with maximum social devastation.

All too often, “get tough” campaigns garner rich publicity by appearing to be striking at the problem enthusiastically, but the effects are minimal, if not counterproductive. Furthermore, the horror inspired by child pornography naturally inspires politicians to try and “do something,” but the “something” in question has nothing to do with the issue at hand. Though child porn is harrowing enough in its own right, the massive reaction to web-based obscenity by politicians and media undoubtedly reflects a sense of loss of control in the face of Internet technology, augmented by a recognition of the fragility of international boundaries and laws. So deep is this unfocused concern that it all too readily justifies legal efforts directed not against the genuinely harmful area of child pornography, but against far milder forms of adult-themed indecency, of explicit images, and even language. Hence the instant appeal of successive high-octane campaigns against “cyberporn,” none of which would have the slightest impact on the real world of child pornography. When misdirected laws fail to suppress child porn, the predictable result is to pass still more laws of the same hue, and so the cycle continues. Agreeing unhesitatingly that child porn is an unqualified evil should not mean acceding to every measure proposed, however tenuously, under an “anti-child porn” rubric. When passing laws, it is useful to recall the opening words of the Hippocratic Oath: first, to do no harm.

When we consider the thriving kiddie porn culture on the Internet, we might recall the Maoist dictum that guerrillas move among the people like fish swim in the sea. The analogy holds to the extent that child pornographers do indeed travel the Internet like the proverbial swimming fish, and there is no easy way to catch the fish without draining or poisoning the entire sea. We have to find means of killing or crippling the subculture without destroying the Internet, with which so much good can be accomplished.

9. On the positive side, some substantial victories have been achieved.

Comparing the situation today with that in 2000, I am struck by how many of the easily accessible semi-public sites have been closed down, usually through the semi-legal actions of vigilantes and white hat hackers, rather than by law enforcement agencies themselves. For instance, we no longer have the proliferation of outrageous sites that used to disgrace yahoo and MSN’s groups, and that provided portals to very hard core material indeed. The bulletin boards have also been forced to conceal themselves behind passwords and high firewalls. However tempted we might be to despair, progress really *has* been made.

MR. WHITFIELD. Well, I want to thank all of you for your testimony. We appreciate it very much. Dr. Jenkins, let me ask you a question. I notice you are a Professor of History and Religious Studies at Penn State, so how was it that you became involved in this particular issue?

DR. JENKINS. It is, as they say, a long story. I had been working for a long while on the history of child abuse and child molestation, and in one book I wrote in 1998 I discuss the topic of child porn on the Internet from the context of the congressional hearings held in the mid-90s. And at that time I believed that it was largely a myth, if you like, an urban legend. When I found that it was not, in fact, I stumbled across this material while trying to write another book, I felt it incumbent on me to counteract the misleading impression given in my previous book. So it is basically the historian in me who is speaking. It is a very fair question you ask.

MR. WHITFIELD. Recently I was talking to someone and they were talking that in many countries around the world, of course it is not even a violation of the country's laws for child pornography to be shown or displayed, and they were talking about they were having a meeting with some members of the Russian Duma, and they were trying to introduce legislation to make it illegal for child pornography. And the members of the Duma told them, they said, we are going to introduce this legislation in Russia, but that is not going to come close to solving the problem because in America is where most of the demand lies. The citizens of America are the ones that are buying this, that are paying for these sites, that is where the consumption is taking place.

Now all of you on this panel have been involved in this issue longer than any of us have, but would you say that that characterization that I just talked about is actually true?

DR. JENKINS. May I speak to that?

MR. WHITFIELD. Yes.

DR. JENKINS. I would say it is really unknowable because by definition we do not know how many images are produced or circulated. All we see is the result of law enforcement. If, for example, law enforcement in one company works very hard against enforcement then that is where we will have the most evidence of consumption. If you want to see the market then you have to go to these boards which appear to me to describe a consumption certainly across the western world but also in Japan, in a very rapidly growing world now across much of Asia. This is a truly global market. It might be that what we see in America is just a function of law enforcement findings.

MR. WHITFIELD. Right. Okay. Would anyone else want to make a comment on that at all?

MR. EICHENWALD. In the course of what I saw, again my information is far from scientific, but there was clearly a very heavy American element among the customer base. For example, on the Playtoy site you had 6,000 members. Many of them put in an identifier of what country they were from. There were a large number of Americans. In the discussion sites, it occasionally would come up about what country people lived in. What was interesting to me is the number of people who were Americans but not all of them lived in America. Some had relocated to Mexico where they thought the laws were more favorable.

And so there is clearly a large American element to the demand. How much of that in terms of proportions, Dr. Jenkins is right, it is unknowable.

MR. WHITFIELD. Dr. Salter, you have contributed so much in this area and have written a number of books, and I did see a portion of the video that you sent down here of your interview with the inmate. I must say he was quite an appealing fellow. I mean his personality seemed to be warm and genuine, and he seemed to really be interested and responding to your questions providing information to parents about how they can help on this. In your experience, these pedophiles, generally speaking, are they that ingratiating? Do they have that kind of a personality, generally speaking?

DR. SALTER. Well, the most successful of them are. If you are going to last as a pedophile, if you are going to get ongoing access to multiple children for long periods of time, then you have to be that charming and that likeable and that ingratiating, and the ones who aren't just get caught much sooner.

MR. WHITFIELD. Now in your testimony, despite your great leadership on this issue, I certainly get the sense that you are sort of pessimistic about Congress or anyone else really being able to deal effectively with this problem. Am I accurately stating--

DR. SALTER. No, not at all.

MR. WHITFIELD. Okay.

DR. SALTER. Not at all. My comments were only that I fear we can't leave this to parents.

MR. WHITFIELD. Okay.

DR. SALTER. And the reason is that parents are very naive about this, and, frankly, they are very easily taken in. I have known of kids who are going into chat rooms with strangers and warned their parents about it and been told, and they never did anything about it. They really believed there was no danger at all. No, I think it is going to take Congress getting involved in this.

MR. WHITFIELD. Do you have any specific suggestions? If you were a Member of Congress, are there any specific things that you would be looking at or trying to do?

DR. SALTER. I don't have a complete answer to this, and I wouldn't again pretend that I do. I would say anything that we can do to support the cutting off the money by the credit card companies. Anything we can do to support that would be valuable because at the end of the day if we could stop the money, we could stop a lot of it.

MR. WHITFIELD. We have heard a lot of that testimony, and I appreciate your pointing that out. Now, Dr. Hernandez, it is my understanding in the Federal prison system that your program is the only one that is in existence that deals with this issue, is that correct?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITFIELD. And it is my understanding there are 112 beds so out of a population of 12,000 Federal prisoners that are there because of this issue, you can treat 112 at a time, is that correct?

DR. HERNANDEZ. That is correct.

MR. WHITFIELD. Now you said that it is a voluntary program. I am assuming that is because they are the only ones you can have any hope of really helping them deal with their issue?

DR. HERNANDEZ. The issue of voluntary participation certainly is an important one. It enhances our ability to treat the offenders. There are other treatment models that have a different approach to treatment, a required approach. However, we don't have a policy that requires these offenders to participate in treatment while incarcerated.

MR. WHITFIELD. Have you been able to measure how effective your program is and how long has it been in existence, and could you give some additional information?

DR. HERNANDEZ. The program has been in existence since 1990, and the Office of Research and Evaluation has undertaken a rather big outcome study. It will take several years to complete that study, and the reason for that is because in order to measure recidivism these offenders have to recidivate. They have to be out in the community and we need to compare those who went through the treatment program with those who didn't go through the treatment program, but did have the opportunity to enter such treatment. Those analyses have not been conducted so we really cannot tell you with any degree of scientific certainty whether the treatment program works.

MR. WHITFIELD. So we just haven't time to get an accurate reading at this point?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITFIELD. Dr. Salter, do you believe that there is a link between viewing Internet child pornography and committing contact sex offenses against children?

DR. SALTER. Certainly. As Dr. Hernandez pointed out, I believe they have 80 percent of their child porn had contact offenses. I have seen a recent study where it was 24 percent but everybody acknowledges, I think, that a considerable percentage of child pornographers had known contact offenses in the past, and that is just what we know about. It put the chances of getting caught for any sexual offense at 3 percent so for every offender who gets caught they have typically many more offenses they didn't get caught on.

MR. WHITFIELD. Well, my time has expired, so I recognize Mr. Stupak.

MR. STUPAK. Dr. Salter, if I may, the last question the Chairman just asked you was about if people view online pornography then is there a likelihood to have sexual contact, and I believe you said your answer was yes?

DR. SALTER. Yes.

MR. STUPAK. Okay. What is different then if people view Hustler, Playboy, things like that, is there a greater likelihood then they are going to have improper sexual contact?

DR. SALTER. With children?

MR. STUPAK. Or with other individuals.

DR. SALTER. Not to my knowledge. It looks to me from reading the porn literature that there are certain kinds of adult porn that are connected with sexual offenses and it is mostly positive outcome rates, porn that suggests women want violence, that have a scene that starts with a rape and ends up with the woman smiling. And that certainly has a negative impact on people. But the sort of people who view adult porn are certainly not always interested in children. Very, very few are. And it is child porn that is directly tied to assaults on children.

MR. STUPAK. What I am trying to do, if anyone wants to jump in, I guess I am trying to say at what point do we sort of cross the line, at what point do we leave where there may be viewing for if you want to use the words, I am struggling here a little bit, maybe personal satisfaction or pleasure to criminal activity such as assaultive behavior, I guess would be the best way to say it. I find your testimony interesting, but what I am trying to find is there a point, do we start out on pornography, just looking at sites, and then suddenly you go further and further? At what point do we cross that threshold where suddenly what may be personal observation for whatever pleasure you see in it moves to the point of being criminal activity? Can anyone help me with that? We got a criminologist, we got a psychologist, we got everybody.

DR. HERNANDEZ. Well, I will take a stab at it. The answer to your very direct question is we really don't know. The body of scientific knowledge is just not there. We are barely scratching the surface. We are developing some hypothesis. My observations have been that many of these Internet-related sexual offenders do have a fair amount of contact sexual criminality. These same observations which I have to qualify I have made in a specific context that doesn't really generalize to all sex offenders out there or all Internet sex offenders. Nonetheless, these observations tell me that while child pornography images do have an influence on the user that the reason for them seeking child pornography predated their looking for these images.

MR. STUPAK. Sure. Mr. Eichenwald, you did some interesting articles and I want to go to one in particular. I believe it was an August 21 article. Let me just quote a little bit from it and maybe you can add a little bit to this. I am reading your article and it says "some pedophiles revealed that they gain access to children through their own families." You were quoting one person, "I have a daughter and I have never been attracted to her. A man with a screen name of John Boy wrote, but he added I did find her friends very attractive. Pedophiles chafe at suggestions that such comments reflect risks to minors. They point out correctly that family members and friends, not strangers, are the most frequent predators of child sexual abuse. They never note, however, that the minors mentioned in their online discussions are most frequently those they know well like relatives and children of friends."

I guess maybe what I am trying to get to is back to the question of where does it go to the point where it becomes criminal, and I guess probably the answer is with each individual once they cross that threshold. Can you help us at all with this? I found the articles pretty interesting reading for this hearing today.

MR. EICHENWALD. Well, I would always caution that everybody here has statistical analysis, everybody here has scientific analysis. Mine is purely anecdotal. But I would say that in the course of what I saw while watching these conversations you cannot overstate the degree of the obsession with children. These are people who, as they describe it, their entire lives are built around being around children, getting near children, watching children, and seeing children. The result of that is you are almost asking the question does child pornography lead to sexual assault, and again I have no statistics to back it up.

Given what I saw, it just seemed like this lunch lead to dinner. This is something they want. They want children. They want children in sexualized ways. They talk about it incessively. They view events that most of us would see as irrelevant and unimportant, nothing as being hugely important sexual events. And so again I think that what we are

seeing are outgrowths of the same predilection that the desire for child pornography and the desire for contact offenses are growing from a pre-existing problems and that those are both just two sides of the same coin.

MR. STUPAK. Dr. Hernandez, didn't you have some study or your studies or research has shown like 76 to 80 percent of those who possess child pornography and those who actually have sexual contact with children is like 76 to 80 percent, is that right? Did I summarize that right?

DR. HERNANDEZ. That is correct, 80 to 85 percent.

MR. STUPAK. Okay. Are you familiar then with Joseph Bushman from the Dutch Ministry of Justice where he did some polygraph testing? Are you familiar with that study at all?

DR. HERNANDEZ. I am not familiar.

MR. STUPAK. He interviewed apparently and was in this operation Falcon or RegPay, as we called it last week when we had the financials in there. According to some testimony there or some things we had read, he found results somewhat similar to yours that all the subjects that were caught subscribing to online child porn sites had in fact some sexual contact with children. So I guess this would support your conclusions. I am just grasping here. I am trying, as I think we all have, no one likes holding these hearings. We are trying to get a profile of the predator and that is the subject of this hearing. We have heard you really can't profile from Dr. Jenkins, and when you read Mr. Eichenwald's articles, they are almost like obsessed or become so obsessed with children that they acted out to the next extent and where do you get that? When do they cross that line, I guess is what I am drawing from if anyone can give us-- answer that million dollar question. Dr. Baxter.

DR. BAXTER. We also wrestle with the same desire for knowledge and that is why we have a lot of research hypothesis. While we know what Dr. Hernandez has found in the Federal Bureau of Prisons in a treatment group at Butner, we also understand the need to do further research to be able to generalize to other Federal inmates much less State inmates or those who may have not been apprehended or convicted yet. And so part of what we are in the planning stages of is for the research in our agency to find out whether or not Dr. Hernandez's findings at Butner are generalizable to the rest of our prison population. We too have many questions about what is the sequence of development of criminal behavior. How much of it may be triggered by Internet pornography exposure? Did the predilection exist on the part of the individual before they were exposed to the Internet? Does the Internet somehow foster the development in a different way of those kinds of behaviors?

MR. STUPAK. Dr. Salter, it looked like you were trying to say something there or wanted to jump in.

DR. SALTER. If I am understanding your question, I do believe there are men out there who are sexually attracted to children and who don't act on it. However, I don't think you are going to find them very often among the people watching child porn. And the reason I say this is I think that people who just know that they have an attraction to kids and are horrified by it are actively resisting it. They don't get involved in child porn because they think it is immoral. Once you get to the group who are actually seeking out child porn where they know there are real children being exploited, you have already crossed the line.

MR. STUPAK. Thank you. Thank you to all of our witnesses.

MR. WHITFIELD. Chairman Barton is recognized for 10 minutes.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Thank you. Is it a true statement that the availability of child pornography disseminated by the Internet has caused an increase in actual pedophilic behavior? Does the availability increase the incidents of the transgression? Anybody?

DR. JENKINS. In my sense, it is simply not knowable. We do not know how much behavior is underway. We only know what might lead to arrest or imprisonment so it really is not knowable. I would also add one thing. Don't forget in some ways child porn material was very freely available in this country in the 1970s in the form of magazines. It was freely available in any large city, so this is not a new phenomenon but I am afraid the answer to your question is we don't know and we can't know.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Well, let me reverse the question. If we are successful in limiting the availability, the second panel are Web providers, domain name providers, and one of my goals is to make it much more difficult to get this garbage available on the Internet. If we are successful in that, if we make it much more difficult and limit the availability, does that help with the pedophile population reduce the numbers of pedophiles and reduce their transgressions against children?

DR. JENKINS. I would suggest that it helps in two ways. One is it helps the kind of people who Dr. Salter is describing who might feel these urges or these desires and they face less provocation to move to that further stage. The other one is if there is less material then there is less of a market. There is less encouragement for people to go out and molest, commit offenses against children for the sake of this commercial market so it protects children immediately in that way. So this stuff can never be eliminated, I don't think, but it can be massively reduced and that is where I think the work this committee is doing is so important. Yes, I think it can do a lot of good.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Dr. Salter, if we are successful in limiting the availability, and through our window nationally and to some extent internationally create a peer pressure in the adult population that this is

just bad or you just don't do bad things. Does somebody who is a latent child pedophile, can we actually create an environment in which just through lack of availability and peer pressure that the action itself is wrong prevent a potential pedophile from acting on their impulses?

DR. SALTER. Yes. I am obviously not saying that you are going to stop everybody because many people don't come at child molestation to this point. They just come directly to child molestation. But are there people on the edge who have some interest and who get further sensitized by child porn? Sure, I believe that. And also the fact that they can find it so easily, the fact that they don't have to go anywhere, they don't have to order anything, and they don't have to buy anything. It is in their living rooms. Is that a knock for people on the edge? Yes. I also would like to second Dr. Jenkins' comments. There are untold numbers of children being involved in the manufacture of porn. By cutting down on the child porn you will immediately reduce the number of victims.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. I am going to reserve my questions for the second panel, Mr. Whitfield, but it is a goal of this investigation, we want to increase public awareness and that is where Mr. Eichenwald has done such a good job helping us. But we also want to create pressure in the technology community to make it much more difficult and maybe impossible to get these images available. Then whatever steps we need to take legislatively to increase Federal penalties on this type of behavior, so we actually have three different steps we are trying to approach. Again, I want to thank you and Mr. Stupak for your personal involvement in this. It is beginning to pay dividends. I think we are making a difference in the country on this.

MR. STUPAK. Mr. Chairman, would you yield to me?

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Sure.

MR. STUPAK. I would like to ask a follow-up question or two. And I think the work the committee has been doing in this area has been excellent. I think we have helped open up a lot of eyes. In the 1970s as was testified earlier that child pornography, because customs was involved, we pretty much cracked down on it and it moved to the Internet, so it leads me to two questions. What percentage of our society has tendency to be a pedophile or may be a pedophile, and then if we take away the Internet access then where do these pedophiles go whether it is for commercial market or whether it is for the physical contact. So is there a set like a percentage, 1 percent, 2 percent, 3 percent, whatever it might be? If so, if you dry up the mail like we did in the 70s and the Internet is then gone, where do they go, where do they act out? If the obsession is so great, they are going to have to find it somewhere. Any thoughts, anyone?

DR. SALTER. The incidents of people, men, in the society who are interested in children has been estimated to be as high as 20 percent. There was a report by John Breer, among others, where they asked people if you could get away with it, if there were no penalties or whatever, would you have sex with a child or do you have any interest in children. So it has been estimated to be that high. In one study that was done where they had some very complicated ways of guaranteeing confidentiality, 10 percent of the population admitted to having at some point molested a child.

Now we don't know how many of those were adolescents or even younger and one-time event. I think it is safe to say that there is a significant percentage of the population that has some interest in children. I do not believe by shutting down child porn on the Internet there would be any increase in child pornography. I think child pornography increases the arousal to kids and is throwing gasoline on the fire. I have certainly known of offenders who had an interest in kids and who did not act on it because they did not have the social skills. They were too shy, they were too unskilled to get access to those kids.

So I think when you shut down opportunities for one reason or another you don't end up with more offending overall. You end up with less offending.

MR. STUPAK. What is the next avenue of offensive behavior then? I guess that is what I am trying to stay one step ahead of the game. I know that is not possible but I guess I am just trying to think this thing through. If you read the articles in the New York Times and others these folks are very ingenious in the way they work it, in the way they manipulate it, not just manipulate the Internet and hide behind it but also manipulate children and other people, so they are going to go somewhere. Where would that be? Go ahead, Mr. Eichenwald.

MR. EICHENWALD. What has changed and what has changed dramatically is that the socially awkward pedophile now has many, many people to give him advice on exactly what to do. I saw a large discussion among a bunch of pedophiles with one who was trying to gain the attention of a young boy, and he was going to buy him I think it was a \$2,000 computer. And everyone waved the red flag. Don't do that, don't go that far because immediately that will attract attention to you. The parents will freak out instead. Bring it down. Maybe have him work for it. It was all this discussion on that lines.

What I found so disturbing in these discussions with the number of times there were people who were saying I have been in jail for molesting a child, and here they are with full Internet access talking with other pedophiles, getting reinforced constantly that their desires are fine, that what they do is acceptable. It is good for children. That there is

something wrong with society, there is nothing wrong with them. And as I watched that, it just was so strong, so clear to me that anyone who has this predilection and who is constantly getting bombarded with the message that what you want to do is good and beneficial is probably going to act again.

And it was disturbing to me to recognize that here are people who had already been in the legal system who are now essentially being encouraged to commit another crime. And so if you take away the child porn because magically wave a magic wand and it is gone tomorrow, what you still have is this justification community, this community of individuals who are day in and day out supporting each other, encouraging each other, and telling each other that the world is very different from what it actually is.

MR. STUPAK. Thank you. And, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for yielding.

CHAIRMAN BARTON. Yield back.

MR. WHITFIELD. Mr. Ferguson is recognized for 10 minutes.

MR. FERGUSON. It is tough to know where to begin. Every one of these hearings, you find we have had witnesses as we have with you today that would be--spend less than hours and hours and hours with each one of you talking through all these issues seems to be shortchanging the topic, but we very much appreciate and value the insights that you have been sharing with us, all of you. I have several questions for Mr. Eichenwald because I have reviewed this information that you have shared with us, that you have submitted from some of what you have seen online.

In your testimony you discussed how you observed these conversations of these pedophiles in these, I don't know if it is a chat room or if it is some--

MR. EICHENWALD. It is multiple, sort of multiple systems.

MR. FERGUSON. They are having on these online forums. They are talking with one another as you have been describing. How easy is it to access these? Were you able to just go in and start watching or listening? You didn't participate but--

MR. EICHENWALD. There are certain forums that are password protected. I didn't go into any of those. But the ones that I found, there are multiple levels. There is something called Internet relay chat, which is basically a text based system that exists sort of underneath the World Wide Web. And you can set up any room on any topic. People can come in and have a discussion, leave and the room disappears.

MR. FERGUSON. Do they ever talk about what we are doing here?

MR. EICHENWALD. Oh, constantly.

MR. FERGUSON. These hearings?

MR. EICHENWALD. They talk about me. They talk about this committee. They talk about Oprah Winfrey. They talk about anyone who is in fact dealing with this issue and trying to address the danger to children from pedophiles. They have a name for all of us. We are called child haters. And in their view, we are child haters because we are trying to do something to prevent the molestation of children. And, again, when I talk about the view of the world inside these communication systems is very different from what you would expect to hear in a normal conversation. It is very different. Up is down. Black is white.

And there are so many vehicles available from the IRC to the bulletin boards to Web-based forum postings to Web-based live conversations. And I watched conversations on all of these.

MR. FERGUSON. You have attached an example of this, this conversation going back and forth between various people including someone named Tanks or Tanex.

MR. EICHENWALD. Tanks is a bogus e-mail address. It is an anonymizer. It is not somebody whose real name. And Tanks posted on a bulletin board, there was a person who goes around the bulletin boards as vigilante trying to identify people, trying to take things down, and he was saying to that person you can't stop us, and look what I can do, and he basically laid out chapter and verse of how the high end child porn traders have set up a mechanism under which they are able to trade child porn with a fairly good belief that they will not be detected.

MR. FERGUSON. What is B&C?

MR. EICHENWALD. B&C is the name of the person who has been doing--it is Bob and Carol. It is a screen name of the person who has been going around the bulletin board making trouble for the pedophiles.

MR. FERGUSON. B&C is the vigilante?

MR. EICHENWALD. Yes. As I understand it, yes. And so he is saying basically do all you want, you can't stop us.

MR. FERGUSON. Is this something you just sort of stumbled across as you were observing one of these conversations?

MR. EICHENWALD. Yes. What happened. Actually, the reason you have that posting in that format, I came across the posting after it went up. It had an automatic delete function on it that I didn't realize was there, and it disappeared after 3 days. So somebody who replied to it accidentally had copied the posting into his posting, and so that is why what you have is a reply followed by the original posting. That individual lays out a scenario under which--it is very detailed--under which he is able to obtain child porn on a daily basis without anyone knowing anything about it.

MR. FERGUSON. Now on the first page of this though in this anonymizer name or address, it says, and the quote is "for every hapless

idiot that gets caught with KP--", kiddie porn, "--because they were too stupid to encrypt there are likely hundreds still living their KP lives that will never be caught." And then on page 2 this same person goes on to discuss how much better and safer it is for pedophiles to trade images on a peer-to-peer network. Is this directive, this sort of encouragement to go using peer-to-peer networks, is this a theme, is this something that is common in these conversations based on your observations? Is this echoed in other chat rooms?

MR. EICHENWALD. The sense of how to get away with it is constantly discussed. Actually there was a reference in the story when a number of technology companies came in and said we are putting together a new technology that will help us track child porn and identify it. Literally that day of that announcement, as the announcement is coming out of the committee, I was watching the conversations online, and it was here is how we beat it. Before the technology was up and running, they already knew how to beat it.

This was the most--the posting that you are looking at now is a description of the most sophisticated mechanism of trading child porn and is clearly the mechanism that this community is moving towards. And the reason I have included that in my testimony is I think that is important for the committee to understand, not just what has been happening but also where this world is moving to.

MR. FERGUSON. At the end of this e-mail exchange, this conversation, there is a listing that has some file names, some of them with very graphic names about the exploitation of children, most of them it seems. Very briefly, what is your understanding? What are these?

MR. EICHENWALD. Those are videos.

MR. FERGUSON. They are videos. So at the end of this conversation they just attached a bunch of--

MR. EICHENWALD. What he was doing was saying look how much child porn I have been able to obtain in the last number of months by using this system, and he has 100 gigabytes of child porn. Now that directory--he wasn't posting the videos themselves. He was posting his directory listing. And so from his directory listing, which goes on and on and on, I believe, for like 20 pages, you can see in more graphic terms than any of us could ever describe not only the magnitude of what they have, but also the ages of the children involved, and what those children are being subjected to. And that is what is going on right now in the peer-to-peer networks.

MR. FERGUSON. Can you talk about these modeling sites for a second? You talked about how you learned about this child modeling sites while you were observing these pedophile chat rooms or where they are talking. What are these folks saying about the child modeling sites?

MR. EICHENWALD. Well, actually at the point when I first found it, I didn't know what modeling sites were, and somebody had posted something to Playtoy Mansion. Now it took me actually until after the story was published and somebody pointed out that that was a play on the words Playboy Mansion. But at the time I didn't know what it was, and I had followed links from actually that conversation site. That is how I found the radio station. That is how I found the pod cast. That is actually how I found the jewelry store. And I clicked on Playtoy Mansion and it took me to another forum where people were--it is basically--there is a format for the forum. I recognized it immediately as that format.

And there were links on that forum to other sites, and when I clicked on it, it very rapidly became clear that this was a forum for a collection of child porn sites.

MR. FERGUSON. I realize I am asking your opinion on this but in your opinion are these modeling sites a gateway to the rest of the child pornography world, this criminal world?

MR. EICHENWALD. The modeling sites that I saw, again, as soon as I realized what I was looking at, I had to stop and call law enforcement, but what I saw was ungodly. I have had a lot of sleepless nights over the past year and a half when there have been times I have had to adapt to new things to my mind that I hadn't considered existed before. And that day when I realized there was a 3-year-old girl out there, there was a 6-year-old girl out there, there was an 8-year-old girl out there that were being posed to meet the demands of 6,000 pedophiles that were being photographed on a weekly basis that were being placed in unbelievable sexual positions in order to gratify these people paying \$30 a month.

That was a day or two or three where I just stopped sleeping. Does this lead to child porn? This is child porn. The only thing that makes it slightly less horrific is that they have a Band-aid of clothing on these children, but these children are being abused, and they are being exploited. And so the reason why the predators are interested in these sites is because they have convinced themselves, contrary to law, that these sites are legal. I think they now think differently because many of these sites shut down. Playtoy and many other ones have shut down since the article was published. But what is going on there is terrible.

MR. WHITFIELD. The gentleman's time has expired. Dr. Salter, did you want to make a comment?

DR. SALTER. No.

MR. WHITFIELD. Okay. I thought that you were getting ready to say something so I wanted to give you that opportunity.

DR. SALTER. Thank you.

MR. WHITFIELD. Mrs. Blackburn, you are recognized for 10 minutes.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you to our witnesses that have joined us today. And, Mr. Chairman, I have a statement that I will submit for the record. I want to come right in behind where Mr. Ferguson was questioning, and let us talk for a minute about these children. And, Mr. Eichenwald, I thank you for continuing to work with us and to answer the call when we talk with you. Let us talk about these children, because I cannot even imagine the psychological harm that is done to the children that are pulled into these gateway sites, if you will, or the child model sites.

And I guess, Dr. Salter, I will direct the question to you or to any of you that have actually worked with the children that have been affected by this. And we have heard from Justin Berry. Have you been able to establish a method for working with them, talking with them, trying to pull out what is the best way to help the children in dealing with addressing this situation? So, Dr. Salter, if you want to go first.

DR. SALTER. The child sexual abuse treatment field that specializes in treating children is far larger and better, and therefore has more research behind it than the sex offender field.

MRS. BLACKBURN. But are you all working with them? Do you work with any of those that are dealing with the child sexual abuse and dealing with the children because I think the psychological harm of the children and just the interaction--

DR. SALTER. I did for 20 years. Currently I am not seeing the clients.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay.

DR. SALTER. But I worked with both and because it is hard to get offenders in treatment and victims seek treatment far more often, I saw over the course of those 20 years far more victims than offenders. And that field is much larger and much better developed than the small number of people who are willing to work with sex offenders. And there are good treatment protocols out there today for helping children. Now the longer the child has been exposed to it and the more the child has been sexualized the more difficult it is. One of the big problems in this field is children who have been socialized into sexual behavior from such an early age that they really do believe it is normal and are often used to recruit other children into being victims, and those children are much, much tougher to treat.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Dr. Salter, one more thing. In listening to you and Dr. Hernandez talk about the recidivism rates, in reading the testimony that you all have submitted, what do you think really works as you are trying to work with sex offenders? You got a high recidivism

rate. As you work with them, what protocol, what type therapy, what item is giving you the best results?

DR. SALTER. Cognitive behavioral treatment without a question. The form that is most commonly used is called relapse prevention, the only type of treatment that has been shown to reduce recidivism. Freudian or psycho-dynamic treatment, open-ended groups, none of those has been shown to reduce recidivism at all. The problem is there is not enough treatment. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has a 112-bed unit and 12,000 offenders. I would be willing to bet there are more offenders who would seek treatment than 112. In the State systems, I have never seen a State system that had enough treatment. They typically have long waiting lines for treatment. We do have offenders seeking treatment who can't get it.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. Relapse prevention then is what you say works?

DR. SALTER. Yes.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. And we have one Federal facility that is a 112-bed unit that is dealing with relapse prevention and no State systems, am I understanding you correctly?

DR. SALTER. No. The State systems have programs as well, but they in my experience never have enough treatment for all the offenders.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Got it.

DR. SALTER. We have a 100-bed unit in Wisconsin that doesn't begin to tap the waiting list.

MRS. BLACKBURN. All right. Okay. Excellent. Well, thank you with that. Dr. Hernandez, do you have anything to add?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Just agree with Dr. Salter that the choice of treatment for sexual offenders is cognitive behavioral therapies, and I may add that augmented by psych-pharmacological approaches, those therapies seem to work better with some offenders.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. Let me ask you this. When you talk about the recidivism rate and working toward reductions, what impact does the child sex offender registry have? Is it a helpful tool? How does that fit in?

DR. HERNANDEZ. My understanding of the scientific research is that sex offender registries have little to no impact on recidivism.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. Mr. Eichenwald, in the chat rooms and those that you have talked to in your research, what do they have to say about the sex offender registry? Do they ridicule it? Do they fear it?

MR. EICHENWALD. They hate them. They deem them the equivalent of the scarlet P, I guess. But being on the sex offender registry is not-- there is not a lot of shame in this world. There is not a lot of people saying, oh, I am so upset that this has happened. But what there is, and I

think this goes to Dr. Jenkins' point about the vigilantes, there is an enormous fear among those who have not been publicly revealed before of having their predilections publicly revealed. And so, again, I don't know of the effect of sex registries, but I do know that there is enormous fear of having to explain themselves in public.

MRS. BLACKBURN. I guess the brazenness of some of the pedophiles just amazes me as I have read different things that you all have submitted to us, just the brazenness of their nature and how they are emboldened in some ways by the chat rooms and the work on the Internet. And I think it does concern me, and, Dr. Salter, your comment is not lost that credit cards and cutting off the use of credit cards for these sites is a very important step for us, and I think that is an area where we can do a little bit more work. With that, Mr. Chairman, I am going to stop my questions. I know some others want to question before we have votes and I know that is coming up on us very quickly. Thank you all very much.

MR. WHITFIELD. At this time, I will recognize Dr. Burgess for 10 minutes.

MR. BURGESS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Eichenwald, welcome back to the committee. Can I just ask you, and this is more follow up from hearings we have done previously, obviously you were here the day that Justin Berry was before the committee, and a lot of frustration over not being able to hold the people accountable after he had provided data, names and IP addresses, credit card numbers, et cetera. Can you bring us up to date on the several months that intervened now, have any of those individuals been brought to justice? Can you kind of bring us up to date on what the FBI and the Department of Justice is doing to hold those people accountable? What has happened in Justin Berry's life in the 2 or 3 or 4 months since he was here?

MR. EICHENWALD. Well, there have been a number of developments. If you remember, this committee had subpoenaed Ken Gourlay, who had been identified by Justin as both one of the people who assisted him on his website and also one of the people who molested him. Very shortly after this committee's hearing, the Michigan Attorney General's office reached out to Justin and interviewed him about Ken Gourlay. There was a raid on his house. If I remember correctly, it was about 6 days later.

MR. BURGESS. That was a State Attorney General?

MR. EICHENWALD. That was a State Attorney General. And now, again Ken Gourlay is one of the names that the Justice Department had for a while. But the State Attorney General raided his house 6 days later, took a lot of computers out, found child porn on the computer of one of the other people in the house who was then arrested. That individual

then began providing testimony against Ken Gourlay. Ken Gourlay was arrested in May on, I believe it was 10 counts, many of them involving the molestation of Justin Berry.

He was re-arrested in, I believe it was July because in the course of following down the evidence in his computer they located other children who he had contact with and found one of them, who has since testified that he also was molested by Ken Gourlay during 2005. My big horror on hearing that was fearing that that molestation had taken place after the Justice Department had been made aware of Ken Gourlay's existence and his role in this. It ends up though that that does not seem to have been the case that that molestation took place in early 2005, and Ken Gourlay was identified to the Justice Department in July or August.

So right now he is in jail awaiting trial on two sets of counts, one involving Justin Berry, and one involving the other individual. There was an arrest of a gentleman by the name of Aaron Brown. He was the person who was arrested by the Justice Department. He was the person who ran niova.net, the credit card transacting company that was doing business with Justin's websites. There was a sentence of one of the other business partners/molesters of Justin, and he received 150 years in prison.

Justin himself had trouble. By May--he had always had a great deal of difficulty, as members of this committee probably know, he had a great deal of difficulty dealing with what happened with him involving Ken Gourlay. It was always a very traumatic thing for him to discuss. After Mr. Gourlay was arrested and Justin was being interviewed over and over again, he started showing some real signs that emotionally he wasn't holding up. In June, in what I think was a wonderful development, he voluntarily went to a hospital where he stayed for a couple of weeks to get some help because he needed some help. He has since been released. He was there for only 2 weeks. He testified against Ken Gourlay at his trial. And he is now, as I understand it, about to start a new job. And when I spoke with him last, he sounded healthy and happy and eager to get on with his life.

In terms of other activities probably the biggest development came from this committee's referral of I believe it is some 700 names to different States Attorney General. I know that at least one State is conducting an aggressive investigation into those names. I don't know how widespread it is. Again, I haven't been chasing it down to find it out but I know that that information--that there are actual investigators who are actually conducting interviews.

MR. BURGESS. But at the State level, and I guess that is what is troubling to me.

MR. EICHENWALD. That is at the State level.

MR. BURGESS. It has been difficult to engage our own Department of Justice in the enforcement of what you would think would be a fairly straightforward investigation and hopefully prosecution. Mr. Hernandez, in your testimony, and I appreciate you being so thorough with us, the line here about the rate of sexual offending contact recorded after treatment is 80 percent. That is a pretty startling figure. Is your treatment program providing any benefit at all or was this before treatment?

DR. HERNANDEZ. These disclosures were made over the course of treatment about past behavior and for most of these offenders their contact sexual criminality preceded their use of the Internet.

MR. BURGESS. Preceded the use of the Internet?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

MR. BURGESS. So that 80 percent figure is before the Internet?

DR. HERNANDEZ. For a great majority of them, yes.

MR. BURGESS. Would you speculate as to what effect the Internet has had on this figure? It probably made it go up, didn't it?

DR. HERNANDEZ. It has been the subject of discussion. We really don't know the effect of the Internet and how it has impacted those who have pedophilic impulses as Dr. Salter noted earlier. The incidents of pedophilia is considerable. The estimates suggest that 1 in 20 or 20 percent, and that is a significant proportion. I should say 5 in 20, not 1 in 20. That is a significant proportion. Now does the Internet in my opinion highlight this problem? From my vantage point, it does.

MR. BURGESS. Let me just ask you a question. These individuals that you were talking about in your study were individuals in prison, is that correct?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

MR. BURGESS. Now do you know, what was the incidents of say sexually transmitted disease in this group of individuals that you dealt with, the incidents of Hepatitis C, Hepatitis B, HIV, do you know that?

DR. HERNANDEZ. I have no idea.

MR. BURGESS. Is that a concern for us that these individuals when they get out of prison who may have been exposed to these illnesses in prison may then act out on their impulses outside and further endanger this group of very vulnerable citizens?

DR. HERNANDEZ. Absolutely.

MR. BURGESS. Dr. Salter, Mr. Hernandez has already referenced the continuum of 20 percent with desire, 10 percent who have admitted. Do you think the Internet is driving this continuum from the 10 percent figure to the 20 percent figure? Could it be as high as 1 in 5 as Mr. Hernandez pointed out?

DR. SALTER. These studies predated the spread of the Internet.

MR. BURGESS. Predated the Internet.

DR. SALTER. Well, let me think. One was at least 10 years old.

MR. BURGESS. My time is running out so let me reframe the question. From this committee's perspective, and I don't know that we really have that much as far as legislative initiatives that we are putting forward, there are a couple of things, but in an effort to control this spread through the Internet, is that a worthwhile thing for this committee to be pursuing in your opinion?

DR. SALTER. Oh, absolutely. Yes, it is incredibly worthwhile.

MR. BURGESS. Mr. Eichenwald, let me just ask you a question. You spent time in the chat rooms and know the aliases and the buzz words that are used, and this committee and the child haters are talked about in the room as your answer to Mr. Ferguson's question pointed out. Do they perhaps sow the seeds of their own control in these chat rooms? Do they talk about things that would provide that degree of inhibition that quite frankly many of us on this side of the dais would like to see? Is there anything you see talked about that they truly fear or have they just really grown to the point where they are beyond fear?

MR. EICHENWALD. Exposure. They fear exposure. They fear their identities being learned. They fear--there are some of these websites that have rules. Among the rules are you can never use a real name. You can never provide any identifying detail. You can't say what city you are in. They are very, very particular about people knowing who they are and where they are, but they are also very good at hiding it. And so, if there is anything that goes towards that it is some level of exposure. In terms of fear of law enforcement, fear of anything else, no. I mean going to prison seems to be as uncontroversial as going to the Caribbean.

MR. BURGESS. Part of the cost of doing business?

MR. EICHENWALD. Yeah. There are a lot of them saying, well, when I was in prison, oh, when I was in prison, and it is just sort of casually thrown around. At one point every one of these people had been in prison.

MR. BURGESS. Doesn't going to prison equate with exposure because the crime itself is--the trial is public?

MR. EICHENWALD. Apparently but it is not--if you think about it if somebody has been arrested in Portland for some local crime and they go to jail the world doesn't know what they have done, and you really have to work to find out about it. And, ultimately even the ones who sort of hold themselves up as leaders of this rights movement won't give their names and hide behind aliases and anonymizers, and so at the end of the day that that is clearly the thing that they are most concerned about. But so long as they have the ability to utilize the Internet, they can be as anonymous as they want to be.

MR. BURGESS. Mr. Chairman, I see my time has expired. I note later on in the week we are dealing with pre-texting. I don't know, maybe we should turn the pre-texters loose on the predators. I don't know if that would do any good at all. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. WHITFIELD. That is a good idea, by the way. Thank you. I certainly want to thank this panel for your time and your contributions to these hearings. I know that you took time away from other activities, and we appreciate it and hope that we might stay in touch with you as we move forward with some suggestions on legislation. And so with that, we will release the first panel and thank you again for participating. I would also like to call up panel two at this time. And on panel two we have two witnesses, Mr. Thomas Krwawecz, who is the Chief Executive Officer of Blue Gravity Communications out of New Jersey, and then Ms. Christine Jones, who is the General Counsel for GoDaddy.com out of Scottsdale, Arizona.

Mr. Krwawecz, we appreciate you and Ms. Jones being with us today, and as you know this is an Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee hearing, and we do take our testimony under oath. Do either of you have any objection to testifying under oath? If you would stand and raise your hand, I would swear you in.

[Witnesses sworn]

MR. WHITFIELD. You are both under oath now, and, Mr. Krwawecz, we will recognize you for your 5-minute opening statement.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS KRAWAWECZ, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, BLUE GRAVITY COMMUNICATIONS, INC.; AND CHRISTINE JONES, GENERAL COUNSEL, GODADDY.COM, INC.

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Thank you. Chairman Whitfield, Ranking Member Stupak, members of the subcommittee, I would like to thank you for providing me with the opportunity to testify today. As an owner of a small business that serves as a host for websites, I am pleased to see that the subcommittee is focusing its attention on the problem of child pornography on the Internet and hope that my testimony can be of assistance to the subcommittee. My name is Thomas Krwawecz, III, and I am the founder and owner of Blue Gravity Communication, Incorporated, a Web hosting company. I founded Blue Gravity in July of 1997 as a college student. At that time we had only one server and myself as the only employee. In just 9 years, however, we have grown substantially, now having nearly 200 servers and four full-time employees. Blue Gravity currently services almost 7,000 customer accounts and hosts approximately 50,000 domains.

It is important for the subcommittee to understand that as a Web hosting company we provide customers with a platform from which to display their websites to Internet users as well as technical and administrative support relating to that service. Our terms of service strictly prohibit any of our customers from posting illegal content, including child pornography, on websites hosted on our servers, but we otherwise have no influence or control over the websites content. In addition, we are not involved in the domain registration process. Customers come to us with existing domain names which they have already registered or we refer them to a third party that is in the business of registering domain names.

When a customer applies for an account, we confirm that their mailing address matches the location of their computer's IP address, and that the name of the credit card provided for our records matches the contact information supplied by the customer. If any such information is inconsistent, the application for a Blue Gravity account is denied. When we learn that a website we host contains illegal content, we take immediate steps to rectify the situation. All complaints or other notifications received from citizens, watchdog groups, or law enforcement are investigated. After receiving notification of potential illegal content, we immediately examine the website named in the complaint. If there is blatant illegal content, we immediately disable the account and notify the customer via email that service has been suspended due to illegal content.

When our examination does not conclusively reveal illegal content because, for example, we cannot tell whether or not the individuals are under the age of 18, we contact the customer and request proof of age for the models. If satisfactory proof cannot be provided, the website is shut down immediately, and the customer receives the suspension email that I just described. We are always looking for ways to improve our ability to detect and eliminate child pornography from websites which we host on our servers. Thanks to this subcommittee, we have learned of some additional improvements that we can, and will, make at Blue Gravity.

For example, we are placing a panic button on our Blue Gravity Web page to provide people with a mechanism to report child pornography. Individuals who utilize this function will send a message to a unique email address for the purpose of reporting child pornography. All complaints will be immediately investigated and forwarded to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. In an attempt to further aid law enforcement, Blue Gravity has always stored the content of illegal sites on our system for 1-2 weeks after being disabled in case it should be requested for prosecutorial purposes.

We believed that this provided law enforcement with sufficient time to make a preservation request or to send us a subpoena. In preparation for this hearing, we learned that many of the larger Internet companies, including the ISPs which testified previously, maintain such content information for 20-30 days after being disabled. Accordingly, Blue Gravity will now hold such content for 30 days. If a request for preservation is received before the expiration of that 30 days, we will preserve the content for as long as necessary.

Blue Gravity also supports the steps being taken by members of the subcommittee to legislatively regulate the maintenance of account information for websites displaying child pornography. Blue Gravity already maintains such records, including IP address, contact, and credit card information indefinitely. This information is available to law enforcement groups at any time and has been provided on numerous occasions. We are actively considering a number of other improvements which we can make in order to help stem the tide of child pornography, and we welcome any further suggestions by the subcommittee or its staff. Again, thank you for the opportunity to testify on this important topic.

[The prepared statement of Thomas Krwawecz follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THOMAS KRAWAWECZ, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, BLUE GRAVITY COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

Chairman Whitfield, Ranking Member Stupak, Members of the Subcommittee, I would like to thank you for providing me with the opportunity to testify today. As an owner of a small business that serves as a host for websites, I am pleased to see that the Subcommittee is focusing its attention on the problem of child pornography on the internet and hope that my testimony can be of assistance to the Subcommittee.

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It is important for the Subcommittee to understand that as a web hosting company we provide customers with a platform from which to display their websites to internet users as well as technical and administrative support relating to that service. Our terms of service strictly prohibit any of our customers from posting illegal content, including child pornography, on websites hosted on our servers, but we otherwise have no influence or control over the websites content. In addition, we are not involved in the domain name registration process. Customers come to us with existing domain names which they have already registered or we refer them to a third party that is in the business of registering domain names.

When a customer applies for an account, we confirm that their mailing address matches the location of their computer's IP address, and that the name on the credit card provided for our records matches the contact information supplied by the customer. If any such information is inconsistent, the application for a Blue Gravity account is denied.

When we learn that a website we host contains illegal content, we take immediate steps to rectify the situation. All complaints or other notifications received from citizens,

watchdog groups or law enforcement are investigated. After receiving notification of potential illegal content, we immediately examine the website named in the complaint. If there is blatant illegal content, we immediately disable the account and notify the customer via email that service has been suspended due to "illegal content." When our examination does not conclusively reveal illegal content because, for example, we cannot tell whether or not the individuals are under the age of 18, we contact the customer and request proof of age for the models. If satisfactory proof cannot be provided, the website is shut down immediately, and the customer receives the suspension email that I just described.

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We are actively considering a number of other improvements which we can make in order to help stem the tide of child pornography, and we welcome any further suggestions by this Subcommittee or its staff.

Again, thank you for the opportunity to testify on this important topic.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you very much. Ms. Jones, you are recognized for your 5-minute opening statement.

MS. JONES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am Christine Jones, General Counsel and Corporate Secretary for the GoDaddy Group. GoDaddy's principal business is domain name registration. When I joined GoDaddy back in early 2002 it was a very small registrar with well under 100 employees. Today, we have over 1,200 employees and more than 15 million domain names under management. That makes us the number one registrar in the entire world. We register a domain name about once every 3 seconds or less. The domain name registrar serves as the point of entry to the Internet so if you wanted to register the domain name ChairmanWhitfield.com, which by the way I did in anticipation of this hearing, and I will be happy to give that over to your staff at the conclusion.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you so much.

MS. JONES. You are welcome. So you can go to GoDaddy and register that domain name. And then once ChairmanWhitfield.com is registered, you would need to actually build a website and find a place to store, or what we call host, the information that you created. Again, you could go to GoDaddy.com for storage or hosting services or you could go to my colleague's company, Blue Gravity, for that same service. Because we see it so frequently in our business, I want to focus on how GoDaddy deals with online child pornography. We devote considerable time and resources to working with law enforcement on preserving the integrity and safety of the Internet. We quickly close down websites and domain names engaged in illegal activities. I personally, and this company in general, have made it a high priority to use our position as the world's largest registrar to make the Internet a better and safer place.

With over 15 million domain names under management most of our data does and must come from third party complaints or notices. We have a network abuse department that works 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, to receive those types of complaints. They come from third parties via email, via telephone, from employees who notice child pornography content during the ordinary course of their work day, and also from notifications from Cyber Tipline and other watchdog organizations. Once we are made aware there is a potential child pornography site, we immediately investigate to determine whether or not there is in fact child pornography content, and, if so, whether that customer has other domain names resolving to that particular site, and then whether there are other hosting accounts in that customer's account which contain pornographic content as well.

Once that investigation is complete, we report the offending domain names, the websites, and the registrant information to law enforcement, and then we give law enforcement a short amount of time to request that we leave the website intact, and this is an issue that came up last week at a similar hearing on this topic, and we do that to assist in investigations. We also report to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, of course. We then permanently suspend our services to that customer. On the numbers, we investigate thousands of domain names and websites each year for child pornography. The number of unique customers that we investigated in the past 12 months is approximately 1,200. That is unique customers. Many of those customers have multiple, multiple domain names, and this number does not include the child modeling sites that I am going to address in a moment.

Approximately 90 percent of the sites that we suspend are domain name registrations only. This means that in about 90 percent of the cases another company provides the hosting service. We provide the domain

name registration only. About 75 percent of the child porn websites we have investigated in the past year were registered to an individual or company in Russia, the Ukraine, and Romania, so that theme seems to continue in these hearings. Much like child pornography websites, we routinely investigate and suspend sites involving child modeling. As these sites typically do not rise to the level of technical child pornography, we classify these sites as morally objectionable which is a term that I put into our universal terms of service for situations such as these.

We typically remove them even if we can't find child pornography because our experience has been that the operators of child modeling sites tend to be associated even if attenuated with child pornography in some way. We also remove the non-traditional forms of child pornography like nudist sites and cartoon child porn. We follow basically the same procedures for child modeling sites as I just described for the child porn investigations, and of course we report those to the National Center as well.

One child modeling investigation we conducted recently uncovered a registrant of child pornography. We discovered this customer in particular had over 200 active child modeling websites. After following our standard operating procedures, the information was submitted to authorities. About 2 weeks later that same customer had been arrested and indicted on multiple counts of child pornography. I just point that out to demonstrate that it is very important for all Internet service providers, domain name registrars, and hosting companies to take these child modeling sites seriously.

The number of unique customers investigated in the past 12 months on child modeling sites was approximately 780 so they are significant, and of course these people have multiple domain names as well. About 70 percent of those were domain name registrations only and about 77 percent of them come also from Russia, Ukraine, and Romania. So I want to thank you, Chairman Whitfield, for the invitation to testify here today. GoDaddy is committed to working with law enforcement and others in the industry to remove child pornography content from the Internet, and we would challenge our counterparts on the Internet to make that same commitment. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Christine Jones follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHRISTINE JONES, GENERAL COUNSEL, GODADDY.COM, INC.

Introduction

Good morning Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. I am Christine Jones, General Counsel and Corporate Secretary of The Go Daddy Group, Inc.

First, I would like to thank you, Chairman Whitfield, for the kind invitation to testify today regarding the sexual exploitation of children on the Internet. We are grateful for this Committee's attention to this important issue and for recognizing that the problem of online exploitation of children generally, and child pornography specifically, is a growing and unacceptable menace that must end. Go Daddy is committed to taking whatever steps are necessary and feasible to assist in ending this practice, and we would challenge our counterparts on the Internet to make the same commitment.

Background

The Go Daddy Group, Inc. consists of eight ICANN Accredited registrars, including GoDaddy.com. When I joined Go Daddy in early 2002, it was a very small registrar with well under 100 employees. Today, we have over fifteen million domain names under management, and are the number one registrar in the world. That means we register a domain name once every three seconds or less. Go Daddy is also a large hosting provider. We currently employ over 1200 people and do not utilize offshore outsourcing of any kind.

A domain name registrar serves as the point of entry to the Internet. If you wanted to register the domain name www.ChairmanWhitfield.com, you could go to www.GoDaddy.com to register that domain name. A domain name registrar is different from a traditional Internet Service Provider (ISP), such as AOL, MSN, or EarthLink, in that the ISP provides access to the Internet whereas the registrar provides the registration service for .com names and the like.

Once www.ChairmanWhitfield.com is registered, you would need to build a website and find a place to store, or "host," that website. Again, you could go to www.GoDaddy.com for storage, or hosting, services. A hosting provider differs from a traditional ISP in that

the hosting provider supplies space on a computer that is accessible from the Internet rather than access to that computer which is provided by the ISP.

How Go Daddy Deals With Online Child Pornography

The Go Daddy Group devotes considerable time and resources to working with law enforcement on preserving the integrity and safety of the Internet by quickly closing down websites and domain names engaged in illegal activities. We work with law enforcement agencies at all levels and routinely assist in a wide variety of criminal and civil investigations. We are also quick to respond to complaints of spam, phishing, pharming, and online fraud and work closely with anti-fraud and security groups such as the Anti-Phishing Working Group, Digital Phish Net, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, and CyberTipLine. I personally, and the company in general, have made it a high priority to use our position as a registrar to make the Internet a better and safer place.

We routinely investigate and suspend sites involving child pornography and exploitation of children in many forms and degrees of severity. These include, but are not limited to, the following: 1) sites depicting children of both genders engaged in sexual acts with adults or other children; 2) sites depicting children nude or exposing inappropriate areas of their bodies; 3) sites advertising, advocating, or promoting sexual relations with minors; and, 4) sites with false or altered images depicting children in various sexual situations. Our investigations have further uncovered sites containing photographs, videos, and text descriptions; children depicted in a sexually solicitous manner; sites that claim only to be "nudist" sites, but include pictures of naked children; and, even cartoon images depicting sex acts with infants and small children. We take each instance seriously and devote high priority attention to ensuring such websites are removed from our network, as described in more detail below.

The Domain Name Registration Process

The domain name registration system is entirely automated. There is no human intervention into the process. Because many words have multiple meanings and

combinations of words can be used for both legitimate and illegitimate purposes, no domain names are automatically prohibited from registration. As mentioned above, Go Daddy registers a domain name once every three seconds or less. This makes it virtually impossible for a human to verify the legitimate use of every domain name registration, particularly on an ongoing basis. Thus, we have developed a notification system for reporting instances of all types of network abuse, including child pornography (hereinafter, "CP"), to our Network Abuse Department.

The Notification Process

With over 15 million domain names under management, most of our data comes from third party complaints or notices. The Go Daddy Network Abuse Department receives information that a CP site may be residing on our network in several ways: 1) direct complaint from a third party via email; 2) direct complaint via telephone; 3) tip off from employees who have either become aware of, or suspect the existence of, CP on a customer site; and, 4) notifications from CyberTipLine and other "watchdog" groups.

The Investigation Process

Once we are made aware that there is a potential CP site, we immediately investigate to determine whether there is CP content, and if so, whether that customer has other domain names resolving to the site with the CP content, and whether there are other hosting sites in the customer's account which contain CP content.

We investigate all web pages found to be accessible without obtaining an account for any site (registered or hosted) that we suspect may be involved in CP. If the site is hosted, we may also access content directly on the hosting account to ensure that we are not missing anything. Often, the operators of web sites of a pornographic nature tend to be somewhat guarded about images on the publicly accessible landing pages and store the most offensive content in directories that site visitors can only reach with a username and/or password.

After we determine that there is content meeting the criteria for classification as CP, we archive a screenshot (in the case of a registered domain) and all or partial content (in the case of a hosted site) sufficient to demonstrate evidence of CP for future use in law enforcement investigations.

The Reporting Process

Once the investigation is complete, we report the offending domain names, web sites, and registrant information to law enforcement. We give law enforcement a short time period to request that we leave a web site in tact to assist in their investigations. This allows authorities to expeditiously gather screenshots, downloads, WHOIS data, etc. necessary for further investigation. We also report the offending domain names, web sites, and registrant information to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) via their online submission and complaint area, CyberTipLine.

The Suspension Process

After the offending domain names, web sites, and registrant information have been investigated and reported, we permanently suspend our services. It is important to note that domain names are not suspended prior to the investigation and reporting processes, especially where domain names are not associated with an active web site. It is very difficult for us to suspend a domain name before it is associated with an active web site because many words have multiple uses. And, if there is no CP content associated with a particular domain name, there is no reason to suspend the domain name itself because there is nothing unlawful about a domain name, in and of itself.

How Go Daddy Deals With Private Domain Name Registrations

Go Daddy offers privacy services for domain name registrations. A private domain name registration is recorded through a proxy registrant, thus enabling a domain name registrant to avoid publication of their personal information in the public WHOIS data base. We find that most of the users of the private registration service are legitimate users; bad actors typically do not want to pay extra to hide their WHOIS data when they are probably going to provide false WHOIS data, anyway. Most CP sites do not have

privacy protection on them. More often than not, the registrant simply provides false, but typically valid looking, WHOIS data, upon registration.

The registration process for a domain name is exactly the same regardless of whether the customer chooses to enable privacy. While we do not have different rules for registering a domain name with privacy, we do use our terms of service broadly to cancel privacy when it is being used for ANY improper purpose. We also give law enforcement the proxy registrant information on private domain name registrations when they are investigating a domain name with privacy. In the case of a CP site, this information is voluntarily provided to law enforcement during the notification process described above.

Child Pornography Statistics

We investigate thousands of domain names and web sites each year for CP. The number of unique customers investigated in the past year was approximately 1,200. (This number does not include the child modeling sites discussed below which are growing in numbers daily.) The number of domain names investigated each year is much higher than the number of unique customers investigated, however. This is because one unique customer may have many domain names in one account. Once we find out about potential CP in a customer's account, we look to determine what other products they may have associated with CP. Many times, one customer will have literally hundreds of domain names in his account. In those cases, we suspend ALL the domain names with CP, not just the one upon which we received a complaint or notification.

Importantly, these numbers are skewed slightly lower because many times when Go Daddy is the registrar, but not the hosting provider, the web site content has already been removed by the hosting provider by the time we conduct our investigation. This is a result of third party complaints being sent to both the domain name registrar and the hosting provider at the same time. This is a sign that many hosting providers take complaints of CP as seriously as we do and we are, of course, grateful when we find that they are fully cooperating with us to rid the Internet of CP content.

Approximately 90% of the sites we suspend are domain name registrations only. This means that in about 90% of the investigations we conduct, we find that the web site content is stored by another hosting provider and Go Daddy provides the domain name registration only. Approximately 75% of CP web sites we investigated in the past year were registered to an individual or company in Eastern Europe. The most common areas were Russia, the Ukraine, and Romania.

How Go Daddy Deals With Child Modeling Web Sites

Much like CP web sites, we routinely investigate and suspend sites involving child modeling. These include, but are not limited to, the following: 1) images of underage children posing in a manner intended to be explicitly sexy. (e.g., emphasizing genital areas or posing in situations easily identified with sex); 2) images of underage children in adult lingerie; and, 3) images of children in states of partial nudity or very little clothing not associated with normally acceptable situations. Images of a child in a bikini swimming at a pool would not be considered. Images of the same child in a thong bikini laying on a bed and spreading their legs would be.

As these sites typically do not rise to the level of technical CP, we classify these sites as "morally objectionable," a term from our Universal Terms of Service. We tend to be more aggressive than most registrars on child modeling sites. We typically remove them even if we can't find CP because our experience has been that the operators of child modeling sites tend to be associated, even if attenuated, with CP in some way. We also remove the non-traditional forms of CP like nudist sites and cartoon CP.

The Domain Name Registration Process

While there is no prohibition upon registering a child modeling domain name (because there is nothing illegal about the domain name itself), we do treat child modeling web sites in a manner similar to CP sites. We have seen child modeling sites with more and more frequency over the past several months. Almost every time we find a child modeling site, we learn that the customer has multiple domain names specializing in child modeling. We also find that a customer who runs child modeling sites typically also has

CP on his site somewhere, or that the child modeling sites lead, even if circuitously, to CP on another site he controls somewhere. Based on our investigations, we have found that the vast majority of these sites are of little girls.

The Notification Process

All child modeling web site investigations originally come in as notification of alleged CP (as described above) by third parties or employees. When we are notified of a child modeling site, it is transitioned to a child modeling investigation as soon as it is discovered to be a child modeling site not containing explicit pornography.

The Investigation and Reporting Process

We follow nearly the same procedure for child modeling sites as described for CP investigations. Because the child modeling sites fall squarely under the charge of the NCMEC, as they are clearly exploiting children, these sites are also reported to the NCMEC.

The following example demonstrates the importance of all ISPs, registrars, and hosting providers taking child modeling sites seriously. One child modeling investigation we conducted recently uncovered a registrant engaged in CP. We discovered this customer in particular had over 200 domain names attached to active child modeling web sites. After following our standard investigation procedures, the information was submitted to authorities. Two weeks later, this same customer had been arrested and indicted on multiple counts of CP. This is just one of many examples of a direct link between information we have provided and arrests for CP.

Child Modeling Statistics

We investigate thousands of domain names and web sites each year for child modeling. The number of unique customers investigated in the past year was approximately 780. As with CP, the number of domain names investigated each year is much higher than the number of unique customers investigated. This is because one unique customer may have many domain names in one account. Many times, one customer will have literally

hundreds of domain names in his account. In those cases, we suspend ALL the child modeling domain names, not just the one upon which we received a complaint or notification.

Approximately 70% of the sites we suspend are domain name registrations only. This means that in about 70% of the investigations we conduct, we find that the web site content is stored by another hosting provider and Go Daddy provides the domain name registration only. This statistic might tend to suggest that child modeling operators are more comfortable using the services of a mainstream hosting providers than those who engage in pure CP, although we have no independently verifiable data to support that suggestion. Approximately 77% of child modeling web sites we investigated in the past year were registered to an individual or company in Eastern Europe. The most common areas were Russia, the Ukraine, and Romania.

Conclusion

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to be heard on these important issues. Your commitment and the commitment of the Members of this Committee, to bringing attention to this insidious problem is sincerely appreciated. Go Daddy is committed to working with law enforcement and others in the industry to remove CP content from the Internet. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

MR. WHITFIELD. Thank you very much. You heard all the bells going off, and this is because we have about three votes on the House

floor, so we are going to recess this hearing and we will be back here I would say about 10 minutes till 1:00. It is 12:15 now, so about 10 minutes till 1:00. And there is a dining room downstairs and whatever, so anyway we will be back with some questions for you all. I am very sorry for this inconvenience. And so we will recess until 10 till 1:00.

[Recess]

MR. WHITFIELD. We have another vote on the floor but we have some time here so we may be able to work this out. Does your company have a policy of not allowing certain names to be used or do you ever deny the use of a particular name?

MS. JONES. We don't prohibit the registration before the registration takes place because many domain names are registered, and I mean thousands upon thousands are registered and never used.

MR. WHITFIELD. Right.

MS. JONES. And some are actually registered pre-emptively so like, for example, we may have a whole series of Lolita names registered, which are just placed in an account to pre-empt somebody else from using them. So the answer is, no, we don't prohibit for the registration.

MR. WHITFIELD. And so as long as they continue to pay their annual fee then they can keep that name forever?

MS. JONES. Yes, sir, as long as they are not using it for some inappropriate person.

MR. WHITFIELD. Okay. Okay. Now I know in this case out of Russia the Playtoy Enterprises, they used an anonymizing service, and they allowed someone else to register the name for them, and I understand that even you all have a policy where you will register a name for someone and they are not actually listed as the owner of the name. Is that correct?

MS. JONES. That is correct.

MR. WHITFIELD. Now why would a person running a lawful Internet business choose this type of domain registry?

MS. JONES. Most of the people that use our service, and by the way it is not an anonymous service, it is just privacy protection, most of the people that do it are sole proprietors or at-home businesses that don't want to list their personal information in the public database. And we find to our great satisfaction that most of the people that use that service are legitimate users because people who are criminal or crooks, if you will, don't pay extra money to protect bad information. They just give us that information that looks valid.

MR. WHITFIELD. Right. Mr. Krwawecz, you host these websites. I get the impression that you all are really not proactive on monitoring any of these sites but that if someone calls and brings it to your attention then you will take action, but are you doing anything from a proactive

standpoint yourself out there looking to see if a website is hosting, for example, child pornography?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Due to the volume of websites that we host, the number of pages that can be set up under any particular website, and the fact that they can change on a daily basis, it is very difficult for us to monitor. Since over the last few weeks we have had some discussions about some additional things that we may be able to implement to help us monitor the types of websites that are on our services; but we do rely on feedback from users or some of the other watchdog groups, the other organizations out there that handle the complaints and then report to us.

MR. WHITFIELD. Is there any kind of technology that is available to monitor that would be available for either GoDaddy or Blue Gravity? Is there technology out there that you could acquire to do this in a more proactive manner?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. From a Web hosting standpoint and even with what GoDaddy does I am not aware of anything that is currently available. You know, without physically looking at an image there is no software technology that I am aware of that would be able to determine whether or not to differentiate between, let us say, a picture of an apple or a picture of an orange or a picture of a model or an underage model.

MR. WHITFIELD. Well, because the financial services group that testified the other day, the MasterCards and Visas and whatever, they referred to something as a Web crawler with a log rhythm type of--it looked for certain words and from that they would go check and there was a likelihood that it was a site with pornography or something. Have you heard of a Web crawler or are you familiar with that?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. I am familiar with Web crawlers. I don't know that that would necessarily help us determine--we looked and did research during the course of this investigation on one server that we have websites hosted on, and a search for the term Lolita and model and returned about 150 pages worth of data with maybe 30 to 50 individual Web pages on each of those 120 to 150 pages. You would really physically have to go through that and just because of the size of our company it is not practical for us to go through and be able to examine all that data. If there was some technology, Web crawler, or if there is something out there that I am not aware of, we are certainly open to suggestions or whatever technology Visa, MasterCard, or any of the other companies that are out there might be using.

MR. WHITFIELD. So, Ms. Jones, you feel like you all are doing everything that you can do as far as preventing these sites from being out there or do you think you can do more?

MS. JONES. In terms of prevention?

MR. WHITFIELD. Yeah.

MS. JONES. Well, one of the things that we do and it is pretty easy is to look and examine files by file size. We find often that Web hosting customers, for example, who have very large volumes of data tend to have video files because they take up a lot of space. On that, for example, we can go view the content, and of course as the gentleman suggests you have to look at the content, but we can do that and we do do that from time to time, not just on child pornography but on all kinds of violations. If I had a staff of a thousand people that could go review all of our hosting boxes every day then, absolutely, we could prevent more of this but at \$1.99 a month for a hosting account the economy is not really there for us to do that.

MR. WHITFIELD. Right. Mr. Stupak.

MR. STUPAK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Krwawecz, am I saying that right?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Krwawecz.

MR. STUPAK. Krwawecz. The way I understand it, Blue Gravity began as an adult pornography site and you don't create any of your own content, is that correct?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. That is correct.

MR. STUPAK. Okay. It is also my understanding that 70 percent of your websites that you host are adult content, is that correct?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. That is correct, approximately.

MR. STUPAK. Were you present when the last panel testified, the doctors and all them, the guy from corrections?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Yes.

MR. STUPAK. Okay. In there, they were talking about illegality. Would your websites have like violent rapes on them of mature women, things like that?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. No.

MR. STUPAK. Where do you decide what would be proper and improper website, what guidelines do you have?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. You know, content, we use the U.S. law to dictate what content is legal and is not legal. We made sure--

MR. STUPAK. Well, is there a prohibition to have violent rapes amongst adults on websites?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. We never had any of that type of contact.

MR. STUPAK. The point I am trying to get at, in child pornography they said, well, that is sort of throwing gas on the fire. Remember that conversation we were talking about? So why wouldn't yours be any different? Why would you have adult websites that may or may not depict that?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. I am not sure I understand the question exactly. The websites that we had were similar to subscribing to Playboy, for example, that type of material. We never--there--

MR. STUPAK. Nothing more graphic depictions than that?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. No, there are very niched categories of content that is I guess more violent more along the terms of what you are talking about, but that is nothing that we ever got into or put up on any websites that we had.

MR. STUPAK. Okay. The point I am trying to make for people if you show young children and that may provoke improper sexual contact why wouldn't your websites do the same thing?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. I don't believe that someone is subscribing to an issue of Playboy has more or less of a tendency to be involved in any kind of violent or aggressive behavior.

MR. STUPAK. You said you store now for 30 days?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. No. Currently we keep the content for about 7 to 14 days unless we have an order to preserve the content for longer. If we get subpoenas for websites sometimes the terms on there dictate that we retain that material for 30, 60, 90 days, depending on the length of the investigation.

MR. STUPAK. There have been some proposals to maintain it for a year automatically with or without a warrant. Would you be in favor of that?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. To maintain the actual website content?

MR. STUPAK. Correct. Website content.

MR. KRAWAWECZ. A year might be a little long. It really depends on every website varies in size. What we did on this most recent issue was put a copy of that website on DVD and archive it, which is also a possibility.

MR. STUPAK. So you could do that then?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Yeah. It would be something that we would definitely be open to if there were some guidelines for maintaining that data for a specific period of time. I don't think it is a bad idea at all.

MR. STUPAK. Ms. Jones, any reason why if we do legislation to compel data retention, is there any reason why Web hosting sites should be treated differently than ISPs?

MS. JONES. No, I don't think so. To your earlier point, I listened with interest to the testimony last week about data retention. I think it would be very helpful for hosting providers and Internet service providers both to have some kind of a requirement to maintain data, particularly customer data, not the content so much because we automatically produce the content when we find it. But to retain this customer data that is helpful to them because then they don't have to

jump through this additional hoop of getting me a document preservation letter or an NSL or some other form of subpoena or document. I just automatically know I am required to maintain that for X number of days or months or years or whatever it is. So I think that would be helpful, and I think it would be productive to helping law enforcement who needs all the help they can get on this.

MR. STUPAK. Well, I guess I am going to have to cut off my questions. We got 20 seconds left.

MRS. BLACKBURN. [Presiding] All right. Ms. Jones, thank you, and thank you all for hanging in here with us as we go to votes. We had an unexpected vote called, and I know that it is a little bit disconcerting. Ms. Jones, I really wanted to come to you primarily, and thank you for your testimony about GoDaddy and the registrars and the websites and the domain registration. And I want to ask you in the earlier questioning with the first panel, we talked a little bit about credit cards.

MS. JONES. Yes, ma'am.

MRS. BLACKBURN. And the use of credit cards. And Dr. Salter's testimony on one of the ways to really aggressively go after this would be cutting off the use of credit cards. And I was noticing in yesterday's Wall Street Journal there is also, and you may have seen this, about fines that are being put in place, additional fines for companies that are not adhering to the fraud protection elements that are there. I would like to hear from you what your advice to us would be on addressing the credit card situation for access to these child pornography sites.

MS. JONES. Well, first of all, I was very enthusiastic when I read and heard some of the testimony from the financial institutions panel that you had a couple of weeks ago, or last week, because they are seeing fewer incidents of applications for merchant accounts for child pornographers than I thought that they would be, but I think the best advice is they have to continue a stringent due diligence process in both issuing merchant accounts and relationships with acquirers, but also the alternative forms of payment like, for example, putting money into an online account and just debiting it as you go along or PayPal or gold or Western Union or those sorts of things.

They seem to be much more effective in eliminating the money trail because, for example, at GoDaddy we have a 24-hour, 7-day a week fraud department that checks credit card transactions. Any of the transactions that are coming out of the known areas of offensive behavior, we review. So if we know you are a guy that buys this kind of stuff, we eliminate your transaction, but that is with credit cards because those are easy for us to track. If it is cash, it is a much more difficult situation so I guess the point I am trying to make is the focus, I think, needs to be on those alternative forms and determining how we can get

those people to cooperate and have a relationship with ISPs, domain registrars, hosting providers, and all the people that enable the content to be put on the Internet in the first place.

And I don't see why they wouldn't support it. I mean this subject matters seems to be non-controversial. Nobody thinks it is a bad idea to stop these guys from getting on the Internet.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. On the website names and on registering a domain name, and you may have answered some of the questions about complaints that you get on domain names while I was gone to vote, but with companies like yours when they are registering domain names that would lend you to believe something is a pornographic site, what kind of action can you take on the front end?

MS. JONES. Well, we can certainly monitor for particular words or particular combinations of words.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Do you have a unit that does that?

MS. JONES. With a registration once every 3 seconds or less it is very difficult for us to do that particularly on any kind of ongoing basis with human intervention, but we can and do monitor certain words. The trouble comes in somebody registering CongresswomanBlackburn.com and leaving that domain dormant for some period of time, and then after 60 or 90 or 120 days attaching a website to it. That is where the real bad behavior comes because the domain name may have offensive words in it, but if there is no content associated with that domain name, if it is just sitting in a database somewhere there is nothing improper about it. It isn't resolved to a website. It is not generating any revenue for the person. It is just a random domain name sitting there. That is where the real problem comes in and that is where it is really important to us to have these reports from third parties. It is very helpful to us to get those reports.

MRS. BLACKBURN. So it is not always the gateway or the site itself, it is the portals that you can enter from that site?

MS. JONES. Yes, ma'am.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Mr. Krwawecz, am I saying it properly?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. Yes.

MRS. BLACKBURN. For Blue Gravity, any thought on either the credit cards or the domain registry?

MR. KRAWAWECZ. I agree with Ms. Jones as far as the credit card processing. I think the companies like Visa and MasterCard have the resources to be able to monitor the merchants that are processing transactions, the websites that are associated with it, where the money is going and being able to shut down or discontinue processing transactions for sites that are promoting child pornography. As far as the domain registration, one of the things that I had discussed earlier in the week was

there is a fine line between registering a domain related to supporting rape victims and then a domain that is promoting rape and being able to distinguish which website or domain name is being used for legitimate purposes versus someone who is trying to promote child pornography or rape or something that is criminal or offensive.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Okay. Ms. Jones, in the testimony that you have given, you talked about the investigation on the child modeling sites. Did you elaborate on that during questioning?

MS. JONES. I did not.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Would you please do that for the record and then that is going to be my last question. Just give a little bit more of the background of the investigation.

MS. JONES. Okay. Typically, we get notices from their parties or employees who suspect child modeling sites are on the Internet. We conduct an investigation similar to what we do for child pornography. Our abuse department would go view the site, would determine that there were inappropriate images. Depending on whether or not there are links to or relationships with actual child pornography, we would either report actually to law enforcement or just to the National Center, the domain names, the websites, and the registrant information for the child modeling sites, but under any circumstances when we find these, we do take them down because they are clearly exploiting children, and I think the gentleman from the New York Times demonstrated some of those shocking behaviors that they are obviously forcing these children to engage in. So the investigation is maybe a little bit simpler than it would be with child pornography because the analysis doesn't have to be as careful because the images are typically of children with clothing on.

But we do take them very seriously, and over the last probably 4 to 6 months we have seen a huge rise in the number of these sites, so we are very concerned about those.

MRS. BLACKBURN. And your investigation led to the awareness of over 200 sites, am I correct?

MS. JONES. In the last 12 months we have investigated 780 unique customers. That equates to thousands of domain names. The one example I gave was one customer who had over 200 domain names. One guy had 200 websites so that is 200 different children that he had active modeling sites on. And they are all the same format, the same content, the same type of--generally the same type of behavior but it is every kind of child you could possibly want to look at.

MRS. BLACKBURN. And then your company, do you follow this through with law enforcement to be sure those sites come down and then do you continue if a person is known to set up these sites to prohibit from registering new domain names for them?

MS. JONES. Yes. What we do is we report to law enforcement and to the National Center, and we eliminate all of the content and domain names in that customer's account. We can also block that credit card from ever using our system again. They could always come back as a different name or a different credit card, but, yes, we take all of the steps and to the point of sometimes even blocking the IP address from which those transactions originated from accessing our system.

MRS. BLACKBURN. Thank you so much. I thank both of you for your patience and for your testimony, and for working with us on the hearing. As you are aware, this is part of a series of hearings that we are doing as we review this entire process and work on the online child pornography issue. And at this time, I will thank you all for your testimony and adjourn the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 1:35 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

